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ABSTRACT

This publication is a collection of articles by various authors on educational trends during the 1980s. The diverse collection of writers offers background information for future decisions about legislation and educational policy. In the category of leadership and governance, most of the papers are oriented toward single issue interests, the general fragmentation of leadership at all levels, and the challenge to leaders in the current era of change and stress. The major points from the social change and demographics papers relate to the manner in which changing societal values and changes in the age distribution of the population are affecting the schools. Finally, the papers on knowledge, technology, and curriculum emphasize the potential for change in the content and delivery of instruction and the benefits that could accrue through the application of research findings in curriculum design and school operation. A continuing theme among the papers is the emphasis placed on the many ways in which change is taking place in American society and the difficulties that citizens confront in efforts to cope with change. (Author)

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96th Congress }
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NEEDS OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY
EDUCATION IN THE 1980's

A Compendium of Policy Papers

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY,
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION



JANUARY 1980

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(II)

FOREWORD

Education in 1980 probably bears very little resemblance to what most of us thought "Education in 1980" would be back in 1970. During the past decade, many trends emerged which tempered the optimism about elementary and secondary education that characterized the year 1970. Standardized test scores fell, youth unemployment rose, tax limitation initiatives passed, and enrollments declined, to name but a few.

Educators and policy-makers will have to confront all these trends -- and many more that have yet to be identified -- during the 1980's. To deal with these changes effectively, we will need, first of all, to engage in the art of futures studies, an area in which we have generally been remiss. Second, we will need to amass a wide diversity of ideas about how to meet the challenges of the 1980's.

This publication represents an effort by the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education to do just that. We have compiled this volume as a way of gathering background information for future decisions about legislation and educational policy. We also see this as a way of fulfilling the

(III)

IV

Subcommittee's responsibility for "foresight" activities, undertaking futures research and forecasting in areas within its jurisdiction. Finally, we hope these papers will be useful to educators around the country as they prepare to manage the decade upon us.

The authors in this volume were selected with an eye toward diversity and balance between theoreticians and practitioners. In order to encourage creativity, the choice of specific topics was left to the individual writers.

The members of the Subcommittee are deeply grateful to those who submitted papers for performing this public service. The papers encompass a variety of issues, styles, and opinions, all of them thought-provoking.

We are also appreciative of the work of Mr. K. Forbis Jordan and Mr. Dennis Little of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress in arranging the papers and of Mr. Jordan in writing the introduction.

Carl D. Perkins
Chairman

INTRODUCTION

As the Nation enters the decade of the 1980's, the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor has asked various educational experts and interest groups to submit papers on the prospects for education in the 1980's. In 1970, the Committee published a collection of papers focusing on possibilities for education in the 1970's; this publication provided the Committee with valuable insights as consideration was given to various new legislative proposals and renewal of existing legislation.

As would be expected, the concerns and interests of the authors of the 1980 papers are somewhat different from those expressed in the 1970 papers. Many of the current public policy issues are intertwined, and this posed a problem in grouping the papers submitted for this volume. After considering various alternatives, the following categories were determined to be most useful -- leadership and governance; social change and demographics; and knowledge, technology, and curriculum.

In the category of leadership and governance, most of the papers are oriented toward single issue interests, the general fragmentation of leadership at all levels, and the challenge to leaders in the current era of change and stress. Attention is placed on the need for positive leadership related to education and the public's concern about educational quality and student performance. Concern is expressed about the degree to which expenditures for education are being subjected to close scrutiny because of the declining rate of economic growth and increases in the level of demand for all social services.

Other examples of the manner in which governance issues affect education are illustrated in the pressures for property tax relief and limits on governmental expenditures. Among the specific issues in this group of papers are public funds for nonpublic schools, the needs of various types of students and school districts, the relationship between equality and educational excellence, and the balancing of the Federal, State, and local roles in education.

The major points from the social change and demographics papers relate to the manner in which changing societal values and changes in the age distribution of the population are affecting the schools. Attention is drawn to the decline in public school enrollments that has come about as a

(V)

VI

result of the smaller number of persons of school age and a growth of private schools in various regions of the Nation.

A recurrent theme is the challenge of maintaining diversity in the educational system during a period of declining enrollments and a slower rate of growth in educational expenditures. Among the unanswered questions is the extent to which efforts will be made to continue the extension of greater educational opportunities to unserved and underserved citizens. One of the luxuries of declining enrollments may be the opportunity to devote more attention to students as individuals; however, one of the challenges may be to help the schools resist the pressures to serve as the social agency through which all of society's ills are to be resolved.

Throughout the knowledge, technology, and curriculum papers, emphasis is placed on the potential for change in the content and delivery of instruction and the benefits that could accrue through the application of research findings in curriculum design and school operation. Stress is placed on the need to individualize instruction in schools that are attempting to serve a greater portion of the school age population than at any other time in the Nation's history. Attention is also drawn to the challenges facing the schools in their efforts to provide programs that will meet the differing educational aspirations of the various subgroups of the school population.

During the decade of the 1970's, technological advancements did not have their predicted impact upon education. The interaction of higher energy costs, greater public pressures for minimum competencies and basic skills, and reduced technological hardware costs may bring about a change in the educational process in the 1980's. One of the challenges of the 1980's may well be the degree which educational programs and school curricula can respond to these changing expectations from the schools.

A continuing theme among the papers is the emphasis placed on the many ways in which change is taking place in the American society and the difficulties that citizens confront in efforts to cope with change. Rather than relying upon a largely unconscious adaptation to crises and events, emphasis is being placed on the need to prepare students so that they anticipate and mold diverse futures into more desirable alternatives. The current interest in minimum competencies and basic skills then becomes the foundation of an educational process that enables citizens to develop problem solving skills that can be applied to changing environments and unanticipated problems.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I -- LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

An Agenda for Education for the Next Generation Keith Goldhammer, Dean, College of Education, Michigan State University -----	Page 2
Facing the Eighties: Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education Needs J. L. Jones, Superintendent, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida -----	14
The Next Ten Years in Education Chris Dede, President, Education-Section, World Future Society -----	25
Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education Needs for the 1980's John W. Porter, President, Eastern Michigan University -----	43
The Brown Decision, Pluralism, and the Schools in the 1980's Harold Howe, Vice President for Education and Research, The Ford Foundation -----	52
The Needs of Elementary and Secondary Education for the 1980's Ralph W. Tyler, Director Emeritus, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Science Research Associates -----	75
Decision-Making and the Schools in the 1980's Richard W. Warner, Jr., School of Education, Auburn University -----	90
Let's Build on the Strengths of our Comprehensive Public School System: A Recommendation to Educational Policy Makers Roger Farr, Professor of Education and Director of the Henry Lester Smith Center for Research in Education, School of Education, Indiana University; and President, International Reading Association (1979-80) -----	100
Education in the '80's: A Leadership Opportunity for the Congress Rev. Msgr. Paul F. Curran, Assistant Superintendent of Catholic Schools, Archdiocese of Philadelphia -----	116
The Privatization of Public Education: Implications for Educational Policy Charles S. Benson and E. Gareth Hoachlander, University of California, Berkeley -----	130
Issues for the 1980's Owen B. Kiernan, Executive Director, The National Association of Secondary School Principals -----	144
An Imperative for Change: A Goal for the Next Five Years National Committee for Citizens in Education, Columbia, Maryland -----	150
Quality of Education and the Diminution of Local Control in Schools in the United States Robert E. Stake, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign -----	161

VIII

PART I (cont'd.)

Education in the Eighties: The Case for Optimism Stephen K. Bailey, Professor of Education and Social Policy, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Harvard University -----	Page 169
Policy Considerations for Education in the 1980's I. C. Candoli, Department of Educational Administration, Foundations, and Higher Education, University of Kansas -----	186
Rocky Too: The Challenges of Rural Education in the 1980's Jonathan P. Sher, Center for Educational Research and Innovation, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development -----	200
Small School Districts' Concerns for the 80's Paul B. Salmon, Executive Director, American Association of School Administrators -----	214
Selected Needs of Elementary/Secondary Education in the 1980's A. Craig Phillips, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of North Carolina -----	219
One Viewpoint on the Needs of Elementary and Secondary Education for the 1980's Gregory R. Anrig, Commissioner of Education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts -----	226
Challenges to Education in the 1980's K. Forbis Jordan, Senior Specialist in Education, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress -----	234

PART II -- SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS

The Educational Consequences of Post-Affluence C. Micheal Gappert, Director, Urban Development, Research for Better Schools, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania -----	246
Redress the Educational System Sondra Ford, College of Human Development and Learning, Murray State University, Murray, Kentucky -----	266
Educational Challenges of the 1980's Robert C. Wegmann, Office of Planning and Program Development, The National Institute of Education -----	275
Population and Education: How Demographic Trends Will Shape the U.S. Joseph F. Costes, Assistant to the Director, Office of Technology Assessment, United States Congress -----	293
The Student of the Future: A Profile Phoebe P. Hollis, Department of Communication, University of Nebraska at Omaha -----	298
Beyond the Baby Boom: The Depopulation of America Peter Morrison, Senior Staff, The Rand Corporation -----	313
Demographic Projections and Educational Policy Issues Dennis L. Little, Specialist in Futures Research, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress -----	321
Education in the Suburbs - So Goes the Nation - Donald G. Hays, Administrator, Special Services, Fullerton Union High School District, Fullerton, California -----	343

IX

PART II (cont'd.)

The Double Jeopardy of Rural Schools in the 1980's: Problems and Potential for Renewal	Page
Gail Armstrong Parks, National Rural Center, Washington, D.C. -----	353
Educational Concerns for the 1980's	
Elisabeth A. Dillon-Peterson, Director of Staff Development, Lincoln Public Schools, Lincoln, Nebraska -----	367

PART III -- KNOWLEDGE, TECHNOLOGY, AND CURRICULUM

Public Elementary and Secondary Education in the 80's	
H. S. Broudy, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign -----	373
Curriculum 2000: Futures Basics	
Irving M. Buchen, Dean, School of Humanities, California State College at San Bernardino -----	377
Mass Media Values and the Future of Education	
John D. Pulliam, Professor of Education, University of Oklahoma; Fred D. Kierstead, Associate Professor in Education and Futures Studies, University of Houston at Clear Lake City; and Jim Bowman, Associate Professor in Education and Futures Studies, University of Houston at Clear Lake City -----	400
Introduction -- Foxfire 6	
Eliot Wigginton, President, The Foxfire Fund, Inc. -----	417
Color and Spirit	
Jane Christensen, Chair, Language Arts Department, Everitt Junior High School, Wheat Ridge, Colorado -----	453
Needed for the 80's: Schools That Start Where Learners Are	
Kenneth S. Goodman, Professor of Education, University of Arizona -----	463
The IEP: Problem or Solution	
Sister Caroleen Hensgen, Superintendent of Schools, Diocese of Dallas -----	479
Reflections on Elementary and Secondary Education: A Prelude to the 1980's	
Vito Perrone, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota -----	486
Trends and Research Questions in Research on Learning and Schooling	
Robert Glaser, Learning Research and Development Center, University of Pittsburgh -----	505
Education and Global Problems: A Note of Cautious Hope	
James W. Botkin, Project on Learning, Club of Rome, Cambridge, Massachusetts -----	528
Learning and Authority	
Sister Mary Sarah Fasenmeyer, Dean, School of Education and Human Services, St. Johns University, Jamaica, New York -----	536

PART III (cont'd.)

	Page
Education for the 80's -- And Beyond the Socio-Scientific Reasoning Model	
Louis A. Iossi, The Institute for Science, Technology, Social Science Education, Rutgers - The State University of New Jersey -----	549
Strategies for Educational Progress in the Eighties	
Patricia Ashton, Foundations of Education, College of Education, University of Florida at Gainesville -----	568
Intermediate Schooling: Decisions for the 1980's	
Joan Scheff Lipsitz, Director, Center for Early Adolescence, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill -----	583
Education and Media in the 1980's	
D. Philip Baker, Coordinator of Library Media Programs, Stamford Public Schools, Stamford, Connecticut -----	594
Libraries, Information, Freedom, and Children	
Peggy Sullivan, Assistant Commissioner for Extension Services, The Chicago Public Library -----	603
Educational Opportunities for the Night People, the Drop-Ins, the Young Adults, the Diaper Crowd, the Mid-Lifers	
Martha Dell Sanders, Director of Instruction and Professional Development, Kentucky Education Association -----	612
Community Service: A Case Study	
Anthony L. Cassen, Coordinator, Westtown School, Chester County, Pennsylvania -----	617
Can We Have Equality and Educational Excellence? A Proposal for Maximum Gain for Minimum Investment	
James J. Gallagher, Director, Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center, School of Education, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill -----	632
Indian Education in the 1980's	
Stuart A. Tonemah, President, National Indian Education Association -----	645
The 80's -- Return to Traditions	
Vine Deloria, Jr., Professor of Political Science, University of Arizona -----	650
The Needs of Elementary and Secondary Education: Policy Issues on Migrant Education	
Michael Cortes; Cosme J. Barcelo, Jr.; and Janet Schroyer; National Council of La Raza, Washington, D.C. -----	659
Meeting the Challenge -- Serving Migrant Children	
Killian Jordan, National Child Labor Committee, New York -----	675
Improving Elementary and Secondary Education in the 1980's	
John I. Goodlad, University of California, Los Angeles, and Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc. -----	680

PART I

LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

AN AGENDA FOR EDUCATION FOR THE NEXT GENERATION

BY

KEITH GOLDSHAMMER, DEAN
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

PREPARED FOR

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THE HONORABLE MR.
CARL D. PERKINS, CHAIRMAN

OCTOBER, 1979

The most critical problems in education arise from the manner in which educational functions are related to the individual and societal needs of their clientele. This nation adopted its educational systems from Europe. Although many educators questioned whether or not the forms and rigidities of the European system were congruent with the needs of an emerging, industrial, democratic nation, the basic curriculum and expectations of the schools remained constant, and the American popular attitudes toward the school remained consistent with the elitist philosophy and objectives of their ancient European counterparts.

Seemingly, this nation cyclically becomes concerned about how well the schools are teaching the fundamentals of learning -- reading, writing, and arithmetic. This concern is almost totally non-controversial, since no one, to my knowledge, advocates not teaching these skills, and teaching these skills is precisely what the schools have done best over their entire history. That they might have difficulties in accomplishing their objectives with all students is indicative of other problems which are unresolved and to which insufficient attention has been given.

One problem in this regard is the degree to which the society at large legitimates the activities in which the schools expect children to engage. For example, children grow to maturity in our society greatly enamored of their roles either as spectators or participants in major sports. One significant reason for this is the social legitimation which surrounds sports and the hero-worship of superstars, which has been promoted by the media, not to mention the outlandish economic rewards received by young, well-advertised athletes. No academic or scholarly activities begin to approach this degree of legitimation. Until we can obtain a higher degree of legitimation than now prevails, children, to a large extent, will feel that there isn't much purpose to what they are supposed to do in school. Children are motivated to achieve in school to the

extent that they see parents and relevant others in the community engage with satisfaction in activities which relate to those in which children are required to participate in school, such as reading, and use their school learnings to attain their objectives. The parents who never read or who never read anything worth reading are most certain to have children who have reading problems in school.

The second problem area is the reinforcement which teachers and administrators obtain for school purposes from children's homes. Consciously or inadvertently, parents play a significant role in the learnings of their children. That role may have a negative or positive effect. Frustrations of parents frequently lead them to play a protective, defensive, or adversary role with the schools, in effect, defying the schools to educate their offsprings. Faced with tensions and denials over which they have little control and confronted with the numerous diversions for their young which take them away from their parents, it is easy to fall into the trap of "taking your child's part" against the teacher even when to do so is miseducating them. Even worse is parental ridicule of school learnings, which lends support to the child's observation that school learning isn't worth much in the real life of adult society.

A third problem is that of leadership. A part of the crisis in education today is the crisis in leadership in the schools. This problem takes on several dimensions. One dimension is that of the leadership which emanates from the community. We are experiencing today a fragmentation of leadership to such an extent that it is doubtful that we can actually isolate, as we could twenty-five years ago, a stable community leadership. Leadership now is a representation of specific advocacy groups and is conflictual rather than syncretic. Leadership tends to be exercised to serve the purposes of specific advocacy groups, rather than the needs and welfare either of a particular institution or of the general public. This is reflected in education through the confrontation of

diverse advocacy groups to gain control, their insistence upon selfish ends being fulfilled, their reluctance to support financial matters relating to schools unless their demands are met, and so forth. In the current situation, children are held hostage to the purposes of these groups, and there tends to be no basically organized group or lobby from the public whose major thrust is to serve their common educational interests.

The second dimension of the leadership crisis is the fragmentation of leadership and interest within the educational profession. There was a time when the National Educational Association could justifiably claim that it was the professional organization of educators. All levels of educators belonged (or could belong), and its most important efforts were to influence policies which affected the capability of educators to best serve the needs of students. Specialized interest groups were clustered about the core NEA to serve the particularistic concerns of such groups; but membership in the umbrella organization was a condition of belonging.

No longer is this the case. As NEA and its state affiliates began to transform into unions to serve the ends of classroom teachers, rather than of all education, educational groups which were presumed to have interests divergent from teachers were thrown out, leaving an hitherto universalistic organization particularly singular in its concern. The transformation of NEA's interest was well established when it ceased to support the Educational Policies Commission, which had been a voice for all education, the public interest in education, and an advocate for adaptations to improve the relevance of education to current societal and individual needs.

The result of NEA's action, abetted, to be sure, by the self-serving interests and actions of other professional organizations, was to develop leadership over particular groups serving the interests of educators rather than clientele. Almost nowhere in the country is there a specific educational

reference group solely and disinterestedly serving the needs of children and utilizing its power and resources to enhance the schools' capabilities for serving them.

A third dimension of the leadership crisis is the crisis of internal management within the schools. The unionization of teachers has separated them from principals, directors and superintendents, and the public criticism that their functionaries serve only the desires of the advocacy groups they represent has resulted in a diminution of educational leadership, an emphasis upon management of routines, and a failure of administrators to exercise leadership for the resolution of critical programmatic problems of their schools.

Beyond these factors there is an even larger and more complex problem confronting education in this country. We have specifically avoided the opportunity to come to grips with the issue of what schools are for in this and the coming generations of Americans. Schooling has changed but little in this century. To be sure, there have been many cosmetic changes in both facilities, materials and personnel. The buildings of 1900 would be obsolete in 1980, as would be the teachers and the text books. But the curriculum, graduation requirements, and the use of stubborn cliches about "learning" and the values of education have remained almost constant. Attempts have been made to stimulate change and to alter the old paradigms, but all have had little lasting or significant impact. The fundamental forms of transmission -- one teacher in front of a classroom full of students, making assignments, listening to recitations, presenting lectures, giving and grading tests, demanding discipline and following some well established courses of study -- have dominated. The demands, the rewards and penalties, the content to be mastered and the expectations to be fulfilled have had little essential transformation in spite of the enormous technological changes and demands which have altered American society.

Looked at as a whole, these factors -- legitimation, reinforcement, leadership, and purpose and function -- constitute the bases for the crises which confront education today and which must be resolved in the 1980's and beyond if schooling as a meaningful public venture is to prevail.

As we look forward to the Twenty-first Century, it is apparent that schools will be either what they currently are or what we allow and make them to become. Although there are those who would like to forecast the nature and characteristics of schooling, it would seem to be a more fruitful endeavor to think through the manner in which the intelligence and resources of the nation can be mobilized to create the patterns of schooling and education in general which will best serve the interests of children and the American public.

It cannot be overlooked that education does constitute a vast bureaucratic enterprise affected by the interests of diverse reference groups. The structure of education is not isolated from the main currents of American society, and educators are not immune to the changing ethos of Americans. They have a proprietary interest in maintaining the schools as they now are, irregardless of the functions which the schools should serve. They do constitute a group of human beings who have varying levels of tolerance for change and adaptation and differential motivations for wanting to see either the maintenance of the status quo or the facilitation of change. No bureaucracy or profession moves easily, and it is too much to expect that, unlike some other professions or special interest groups, educators will readily discommodate themselves to accept new ways in which they conduct their professional services. Nevertheless, I believe that there are some imperatives with which we must be concerned and to which the Congress of the United States should give careful consideration in establishing any long-range legislative programs.

I believe that the first imperative is to build within this nation the professional competence to deal with educational problems so that education can

be adapted to current and future societal and clientele needs. Education in this country has always been plagued by a "know nothing" perspective relative to governance and leadership. Probably one of the basic reasons for the current dilemma is that knowledge and expertise in education has been discounted, and those coming from arenas which have special axes to grind promote and defend the assumption that the less one knows about the technology of education, the better are the decisions about program, governance and direction that can be made. Education, like medicine, has a knowledge base which is essential as the foundation upon which relevant, meaningful and appropriate decisions can be made. Problems of education are too complex to leave to the ignorant and the ill-tutored or poorly trained professionals to resolve. The mobilization, re-training, and improvement of professional competence to deal on as high a level of scientific capability as possible with the problems confronting the renovation of education is the nation's number one need if we are ever to develop an educational system appropriate to the developmental requirements of our children and youth.

Second, at the same time that this nation is building a higher level of professional competence, it should also help the public realistically to formulate a perspective of what the schools can and should do for American society in the Twenty-first Century. In spite of the current trend toward having all decisions made on the basis of some form of consensus, it would seem to be far better to establish a committee composed of highly knowledgeable laymen and very broadly educated and competent professionals who can constitute a panel which constantly identifies the most critical, societal and human concerns with which education should deal as it prepares to meet the challenges of the Twenty-first Century. That is the function which the old Educational Policies Commission performed, and its demise has left this nation without an agency that can chart direction and disinterestedly and objectively identify

the most critical issues and developmental concerns upon which the schools should be embarking. Just as the public interest could scarcely be represented without local boards of education, without an objective and public spirited national policy-recommending body, on the national scene decisions about education are frequently made without an established public accountability.

Third, the American public must face the reality that our school system must be based either solidly upon knowledge about teaching and learning or continue to operate upon the basis of myths, rules of thumb and half-truths which arise out of the vagaries of personal experience. The revolution in medical science which took place in the early part of the Twentieth Century would never have occurred had there not been an emerging body of scientific knowledge to guide medical practitioners in rendering the most competent and appropriate medical service. Unless we have an improvement of the knowledge base upon which educational practice is founded, children will be abandoned to the whim of practitioners, each of whom has his own ready bag of nostrums which result in more satisfactions to the practitioner than accomplishments for the learner. It is imperative that this nation build a stronger, broader and more fundamental capability in research in education and related disciplines which can, then, be expertly developed into new models and strategies of teaching to promote learning.

Fourth, one of the barriers to the effectiveness of institutionalized education is its divorcement from the home. The independence of the school from all other agencies of the community has resulted in its becoming a haven for children, separated from the community and particularly the home, and to a large extent governed without respect for the heritage of the homes from which the children come. To achieve higher levels of effectiveness, the school must be associated with the family, and areas of congruence between family and school and their unique objectives and values must be achieved. A strong program for renovating and improving education must include aspects of parental

and family life education to enable greater reinforcement of legitimated learnings to take place.

Fifth, along with the effort to bring greater congruence both of understanding and efforts to educate children between family and school must also be the endeavor of the school to make use of the educational opportunities provided by the community-at-large. Remarkable efforts have been made in recent years to develop a science of experiential learning in which the instructional capabilities of the community far beyond the ability of school districts to pay for those resources has been achieved. The great value in experiential learning lies in the fact that it helps children become involved in the life of the community at the same time that they are gaining the knowledge and skills necessary for more effective participation. Experiential learning appears to be most effective in areas related to civic, aesthetic, avocational and vocational development.

Sixth, only modest accomplishments have been made in renovating the curriculum, the basic foundations of which were established in medieval times. A long history of endeavors to adapt the curriculum to the needs of contemporary society and of the individuals growing to maturity within it have met with little success because the school has been dominated by an academic tradition which has been elitist, based essentially upon cognitive development appropriate for that narrow band of citizens who have high conceptualizing capabilities, and unrelated to the real life activities and needs of the majority of the people. The tradition of excellence in schools is academic excellence and is unrelated to excellence in those areas of concern which make this nation totally effective in the accomplishment of its objectives. As John Gardner warned years ago, the society that prizes excellence in philosophy but neglects excellence in plumbing will have neither excellent philosophers nor adequate plumbers. The result will be "neither its philosophies nor its pipes will hold water."

In recent years there have been many promising new patterns suggested for the remaking of the curriculum to meet the needs of the total population, rather than the academic elite alone. There has been very little effort on the part of the Federal Government to explore these promising leads and to assist in determining the degree to which they can be perfected as means for the renovation and improvement of the educational enterprise. Some of these leads include the concepts of career education, the whole range of life role competencies, values education, new perspectives on how to build a curriculum based upon the work ethic and ideological heritage of Americans, the concepts of global education, and so forth. All of these are related to the basic needs of our society as it looks into the future as the great nation of our democratic heritage. Without federal assistance and resources fully to explore and to develop these concepts, whether or not they will have the kind of promise and hope that is needed, will never be known.

Seventh, the changing characteristics of the American population and our economic and social needs necessitate a concern about education on a life long basis, rather than merely throughout the immature years. Lifelong education has never been fully conceptualized as a means for maintaining effectiveness, motivation and direction among all of the population at different stages of their lives. Too much of the concern for lifelong education has been the continuing education perspective which has placed emphasis upon the taking of courses for credit rather than adapting learning activities to the life changes of our citizenry. With the increasing age of our population and the acceleration of technological changes, new demands are placed upon the population for making changes in perspective and acquiring new skills and understandings to maintain their ability to earn a living and to maintain a healthy perspective on their life and roles in society. Preparation for new vocational endeavors, building better understanding of current changes in living, understanding the nature of the nation's responsibilities within the family of nations, developing

an understanding of the multi-ethnicity of American society, understanding and being able to participate in the arts, religion, recreational and avocational activities which are building health in body and mind in preparation for retirement so as to maintain human fulfillment during those difficult periods of life — all are the functions of lifelong education and must be developed within the framework of our heritage for helping, as a nation, each individual maintain levels of fulfillment and effectiveness in order to keep a totally viable society.

Eighth, there is probably nothing more crucial which needs to be accomplished than the careful analysis and restructuring of the roles of teachers and administrators. These roles developed at times when not only the schools but societal expectations were more simplistic than is now the case. These roles were developed when it appeared that the function of the teacher was primarily to maintain order over a group of children, and the primary function of the principal was to manage routines, maintain discipline and mete out punishment for those who misbehaved. The roles today are made complex by the multitude of expectations which have descended upon the schools and the need for teachers to be prepared to diagnose and prescribe for the individual needs of children from all segments of society. The principal, on the other hand, must not only be an administrator in a complex organization, but he must also be the leader for interpreting educational needs both to the public and the school's staff. With the advent of unionism, it has been easy to fall into the ruts of allowing all relationships to become governed by terms of the contract between bargaining parties. But the children have not been a party to the contract formation, and educational values relating to their needs have suffered. One would not want to obliterate the gains which have been made in the teaching profession, but it is apparent that new ways of defining administrative and teaching roles must be found if the educational welfare of students is to be fully protected.

I do not believe there are easy solutions for the complex educational problems which beset us. There is danger that none of the issues which need to be resolved will be resolved on the basis of the best knowledge and in the most objective fashion possible unless effort is made to do so. We can tackle these problems with professional and civic integrity if we wish to make the effort to do so, and in this way hope to shape the educational enterprise of the next century to our design and in our children's and the general population's best interests. The alternative will be a more politically divisive, fragmented and less effective educational system than we have today.

Dr. J. L. Jones
 Superintendent
 Dade County Public Schools
 Miami, Florida

FACING THE EIGHTIES:

ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY, AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION NEEDS

A retrospective look at the 1970's indicates that this was, indeed, one of the most challenging periods in the history of public education. As we consider what lies ahead for the 1980's, it is clear that whatever success and improvements we will make in the future rest largely with the seriousness with which professional educators, legislators, parents, and community members join hands to forge new partnerships. It may be trite, but it is certainly true, that no chain is stronger than its weakest link. Education for the 1980's will almost surely demand that each link in the chain become strong, effective, efficient, committed, and vigilant in meeting the objectives established for our nation's educational institutions.

The expectations of parents, the public, students, the state, and the federal government for our schools will be greater than ever before. It will be expected that all of our graduates be literate and prepared for the world of work and for higher education, as well as for active citizenship. We need to prepare students to function in a multicultural, multilingual society. Additionally, it will be expected that the public schools be attractive, well-designed, and well-maintained edifices in which interesting, humane and disciplined instruction takes place. Academic excellence will need to be more than a slogan; it will need to be a reality, not just for some students, but for all.

There is, after all, only one basic purpose for a child to come to school, and that is to learn. Yet, this basic purpose is so complex and difficult because of the differences in the way children learn and the rate at which they can gain knowledge and understanding. These differences are due, of course, to many factors: background, home environment, study habits, previous experience, varying cognitive and affective levels -- all of these contribute to why some children learn quickly while others do not. Education's mission is to prepare each child for a meaningful productive life, regardless of individual background or ability.

Moreover, it is an essential prerequisite that parents, teachers, and administrators work together continuously for the sake of children. Learning is not a process that happens in a vacuum. For this reason, everybody is inextricably joined in impacting academic excellence and children's mastery of the basic skills.

Unflinching commitment to professional integrity and competence, the demonstrated sensitivity to children's learning needs and problems, and the unswerving belief in their ability to achieve; these are the qualities that must be advocated firmly and aggressively in the decade to come.

As we look towards the 1980's, there are some specific issues that can be identified. These issues must be addressed, and solutions must be proposed and acted on if the educational chain is to remain strong.

● REVITALIZATION OF COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS

A wide range of educational programs funded through federal or state legislative provisions; e.g., Title I and State Compensatory Education, requires that all funds be expended on a supplementary basis. Further requirements prevent the comingling of resources and the supplanting of any services or materials provided to students in the regular program.

The traditional response to these requirements across the nation has been to schedule students into the specially funded programs during the school day. This causes the child to be denied whatever instruction was provided in the regular program for the duration of the specially funded program. This form of supplanting has been permitted to continue although it represents a clear denial of equal educational opportunity to students participating in the specially funded program.

A national model must be developed which eliminates the negative educational aspects prevalent in current practice and increases students' opportunity to participate in a balanced curriculum. A program which attempts to deal with this problem is in its first year of full implementation in Dade County, Florida. It is called the Extended School Program (ESP) and has as its most unique feature the provision of additional or specially funded programs after regular school hours.

In order to provide a program which truly supplements rather than supplants the regular school day experience, all Title I elementary school students in Dade County, Florida, attend an extended school day program. To assure the effectiveness of this program, a uniform instructional model has been implemented. This effort is intended to increase

the opportunity for students to participate in a balanced curriculum during the regular school day and to reinforce and apply the skills introduced through regular programs. These programs are located at the student's home school, thus providing for a stronger articulation of skills between regular and Title I programs. The additional structured learning time serves to assist the parent and student in using the school and community more effectively as a learning laboratory.

The instructional model, which is utilized in all sixty-seven Title I elementary schools, specifies an adult/pupil ratio of 15 to 1; teacher-directed instruction utilizing specified standards cooperatively developed by district personnel, Title I staff, and concerned parents; independent reading and math skills application through an applied curriculum extension component; the provision of educational rather than recreational learning incentives; and parent involvement in tutoring and support functions.

Although Dade County, Florida has taken only the first step towards the revitalization of compensatory education, the potential of this concept for incorporation into a national model has become clear.

● PREPARATION OF STUDENTS TO FUNCTION IN A MULTILINGUAL, MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

The ability to function effectively in multilingual, multicultural settings is an economic survival skill for the 1980's in the major urban areas of this nation.

As a primary educational goal, it should be public policy at the national level that all students become proficient in the English language. It should also be recognized that other languages, both as objects of instruction and as tools for learning, are of great significance if we are to meet the special needs and interests of large segments of our population. It is recommended, therefore, that national language goals be established and that fiscal and administrative support be provided to help ensure that each student, to the extent individual physical, mental, and emotional capacities permit, will achieve consistent progress toward the attainment of these goals. The national language goals should include at least the following:

- Goal I All students who are of limited English proficiency shall participate in a program which is especially designed to enable such students to communicate and function successfully in their English-speaking environment.
- Goal II All students shall have the opportunity and shall be strongly urged to participate in programs designed to enable students to communicate and function successfully in an environment where another language other than English is used.
- Goal III All students shall have the opportunity and shall be strongly urged to participate in programs using another language other than English in addition to English as the medium of instruction to the extent that such participation is consistent with the learning needs of the students and the interests of the students and parents.

Only when these goals have been achieved will this nation's commitment to the diverse needs of all its citizens have been met.

● ACCOUNTABILITY OF EDUCATORS AT ALL LEVELS

The diminishing confidence in public schools and concurrent trends toward such devices as tuition tax relief credits, voucher systems, and "Proposition 13" legislation must be reversed. Educational accountability at all levels is the only acceptable course of action the national educational community can take in response to public concerns. Strong, competent leadership at all administrative levels, local, state, and national, must be clearly evident to students, the parents, the business community, and citizens, if education is to maintain public confidence.

Public school systems must inspire confidence through the implementation of creative approaches to accountability.

State and local educational agencies, assisted by legislation as necessary, must establish standards for student promotion and graduation. Such standards must be cooperatively determined in accordance with societal and economic needs and must be responsive to the aspirations of students and their parents. Objective assessment of progress towards the attainment of these standards and the provision of appropriate instructional strategies, designed to produce mastery of these standards, must be an integral part of this process.

Diagnostic/prescriptive testing programs must be incorporated in negotiated contracts with unions. Such contracts must contain specific provisions related to the demonstration by teachers, through the performance of their professional responsibilities, a mastery of basic skills, subject matter skills, and fundamental teaching competencies. This emphasis requires the development of guidelines, diagnostic tests, and assessment techniques to implement this important effort. Necessary training of administrative personnel must take place to insure a fair and equitable implementation of all provisions of a diagnostic/prescriptive testing program to improve the quality of instruction. Diagnostic/prescriptive approaches have proven successful in raising student performance; they have the same potential to raise teacher performance as well.

All administrative personnel must be held accountable for developing and implementing program plans which contribute to the accomplishment of cooperatively established educational objectives. Accountability must be appraised through a comprehensive assessment of the overall performance of each administrator. A systematic procedure for identifying and rewarding administrative excellence must be established. Management training efforts must be undertaken to improve administrative skills. Those administrators whose performance, despite intensive training efforts, has not proved effective, should not be shielded by the system; their lack of proficiency will be reflected ultimately in the performance of students.

State legislatures and departments of education must work together to provide enabling legislation and implementation guidelines which are supportive of the goals for which education must be accountable.

In order for students, teachers, administrators and state agencies to achieve true educational accountability, it is essential that a strong and vigorous national education policy be instituted. Such a national policy would direct the flow of resources to state and local educational agencies contingent upon progress toward demonstrated accountability.

● FULL FUNDING FOR EXCEPTIONAL STUDENT EDUCATION

The exceptional student is being brought into the educational mainstream both literally and figuratively. As school districts across this nation seek to implement the various provisions of Public Law 94-142, they are faced with a moral and fiscal dilemma. Funds are simply inadequate to do all that is required and implied in legislation concerning exceptional students.

In the decade ahead, problems related to exceptional education will not abate; on the contrary, they will increase in intensity and complexity. As mainstreaming becomes the educational *modus operandi*, new models for preservice and inservice teacher education programs will need to be developed. Construction guidelines for school buildings will need to be examined and revised to meet the educational needs of handicapped students in the spirit of the least restrictive environment.

As parents become more involved in the needs of their exceptional children, federal, state, and local rules and regulations will have to be reexamined in order to assure equitability for exceptional youngsters without hamstringing local school personnel. These are just a few examples of the many issues related to exceptional student education that will have to be faced.

To believe that these problems can be addressed, much less solved, without a massive infusion of funds is naive in the extreme. To date, federal and state legislation in this area has outstripped the fiscal ability of school districts to comply. In the 1980's, this cannot continue; it will be all students who suffer.

● CONSTRUCTION NEEDS FOR SCHOOLS IN THE EIGHTIES

In addition to programmatic needs, school districts will be faced with the problem of adapting school buildings to the environment of the eighties. These adjustments will more likely consist of remodeling existing buildings rather than new construction.

Such remodeling will include the very obvious: renovating, maintaining, and updating older school buildings, some of which are located in decaying community areas, so that these buildings will serve to uplift the community and not contribute to community decay.

In addition, in many urban school districts large numbers of school buildings were built more than 50 years ago in response to different educational needs. Renovations, then, for these buildings should proceed from the standpoint of providing adequate educational space for school children of the eighties by converting these spaces to meet new programming requirements, such as greater reliance on individualized instruction, the use of flexible media centers and systems, bilingual education, career and vocational education, and modern technology.

School buildings also exist in that same energy-scarce environment in which other institutions must function. Substantial needs exist to operate these school buildings in a more energy-efficient manner, hopefully with greater reliance on renewable sources of energy such as solar systems. A conversion of plants, which were designed in an oil-rich era, to school buildings which are adequately insulated and which use energy-efficient equipment, requires considerable capital expenditures which many school districts do not possess.

Further, the renovation of school buildings should stress flexibility of space. Shifting populations may result in the eventual conversion of school buildings to multi-purpose community centers or perhaps even to shops or apartments. The aging of American society will generate new needs for educational programs and facilities which far surpass traditional utilization of public school buildings.

Unless states and the federal government can subsidize these substantial expenditures, many school districts will be faced with the dilemma of attempting to continue to cope with new needs with obsolete plants and equipment. Diverting resources from instructional purposes to meet these needs will reduce districts' ability to adapt instructional programs for the eighties.

Meeting future needs of education is obviously not totally, or even primarily, dependent on adequate school buildings. However, school buildings which are inappropriately designed and maintained do form a certain parameter and constraint to any efforts to render education more responsive to instructional needs. Winston Churchill once stated that we shape our buildings and thereafter they shape us. Conscious efforts to use and modify existing school buildings should represent a primary consideration in the agenda for action for the decade to come.

● REVITALIZING URBAN CENTERS

Public education in this country will be able to survive only to the extent that urban education survives. But urban education is in serious trouble. The large, sprawling urban school systems have failed to teach the poor and the minorities even the basics, much less acceptable social or occupational skills. A society that strives for democracy must be concerned when whole groups of children are not being prepared for responsible citizenship.

The middle class--perceiving the schools as deteriorating--is taking flight, either to the suburbs or to private education. Whereas this country once saw its public education system as the vehicle for upward mobility, we are now facing a situation that can only widen the division between haves and have-nots.

As the middle class moves out, we are getting increasing pressure, not only for restrictions on school budgets but, also, for vouchers and tuition tax credits. People object to paying private

tuitions while supporting the public schools with their tax dollars. Among the things that we stand to lose are the "frills," which are, in many cases, things that are badly needed to balance the curriculum.

With the loss of confidence in the school system, educators are no longer accorded automatic authority and respect. Accountability is the watchword today. This makes it necessary for schools and educators to develop a new approach to their basic mission, which is to deliver equal opportunity to all, so that each student can achieve his or her highest potential. Public educators must begin by no longer defining their output as teaching done, but as learning proven. The goal of equality of educational opportunity may well require an unequal distribution of dollars to meet the unequal needs of minority and poor children.

To stretch finances, teachers and administrators must become informed brokers who can coordinate educational demand with community supply. In Dade County, a program has been initiated called Dade Partners, in which businesses lend their support to the schools. This kind of cooperation between school and community is as important to the future health of the schools as is cooperation within the school system. With so many attacks coming from without, it is essential that school boards, administrators, teachers, unions, parents, and students work together toward a better future. Our public school system is the best hope we have for educating our youth and our best investment in human capital.

● LOOKING FOR REALISTIC SOLUTIONS TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION NEEDS

Each year millions of students drop out of school or graduate without employable skills or the preparation to continue their studies after high school. To support these young people on welfare rolls or to involve them in expensive vocational rehabilitation programs is unconscionably wasteful. What is needed is a preventative approach to vocational education.

Preparation for the world of work should begin at the elementary level and continue through the junior and senior high school. This developmental

process should be staged so that at the end of a student's school career a specified job-entry level of skills development will have been attained.

In the provision of such a program, involvement with private and public employers is not only desirable, but essential. All experiences and materials used should, of necessity, be representative of the actual business and industrial setting in which the student will function. Together, education and business must identify the kinds of jobs that are needed, where they will be located, and the best way young people can be prepared to assume them.

What is also needed is a new look at the development of vocational counseling programs. Disadvantaged minority students must be encouraged to train for a variety of vocational roles. We cannot afford to counsel disadvantaged students into stereotyped job roles. New ways must also be found to counsel and train young women so that they may enter vocations which have previously been denied to them, despite their potential.

Federal legislation could be the catalyst which brings about realistic solutions to vocational problems. As just one example, current legislation does not insure that CETA prime sponsors work cooperatively with public school officials. Without such cooperation, the solutions to the problems of the disadvantaged unemployed will never be found.

Education cannot and should not delay the preparation of students for the world of work until they are young adults. What is needed is a comprehensive program beginning in the elementary grades with career awareness and extending through the middle and secondary grades with career counseling and guidance. As an integral part of this comprehensive program, but clearly delineated, should be creatively conceived and realistically designed vocational education programs in secondary and post-secondary situations.

A definite, clear national policy on career education in general and on vocational education within our public schools, and the funds to back it up, are essential if the needs of society are to be met.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the struggle for equal opportunity is essentially the fight for the ascendancy of reason and humanity over ignorance and indifference. This thought must be a beacon for education in the decade ahead.

Professional educators and the various publics who are committed to children's academic achievement must clearly resolve that equivocation and procrastination will no longer be accepted. They must respond accordingly. The same determination that spurred educational advances in the 1970's should again be summoned to reinvigorate efforts for the 1980's.

Schools must not lose faith in the ability of students to learn, nor should communities lose faith in the ability of schools to lead. The schools are crucial to the positive resolution of any of society's problems. If our youth leave schools prepared only for unemployment and dependency, the vicious cycle of society's ills will be perpetuated.

During the 70's, children were taught to read better, write better, compute better, behave properly, and survive in a competitive society. These successes must be capitalized on in the years to come. Along avenues opened by learning and understanding lie the hope and inspiration of past, present, and future generations of citizens. To continue to provide optimal opportunities for young people to attain their educational and human potential should be the pledge of all involved in education. To this end, nothing less than total commitment will suffice.

The Next Ten Years in Education

**Chris Dede
President
Education Section
World Future Society**

(25)

Last year, at the First Conference of the Education Section, World Future Society, I discussed how we might best conceptualize our role as educators concerned with the future. In particular, I spent some time developing a perspective on where we are in history and what long-term challenges and opportunities we face. (That talk is published in Educational Futures: Sourcebook I) This year, I will take a very different approach, building on that overview, and will set forward some forecasts on the nature of the immediate future, the next decade.

Making these predictions is a very risky thing for me to attempt professionally, because you will still be around at the end of the next 10 years to check the validity of my forecasts. By 1989, I will either be a futuristic hero or be selling hotdogs in Yankee Stadium to make a living! Nonetheless, I will take my chances on what the future brings, because I see so many incredibly short-sighted decisions being made today that I feel all of us must speak out on what we see coming.

Ultimately, a person's beliefs about the future are very powerful in shaping his actions. In a sense, what we strive to do as educators is to change students' lives by giving them visions of what their personal future might be and the knowledge they need to actualize these possibilities. One of the aspects of futures research that has always fascinated me is the extent to which one can change someone's behavior by altering the image of the future that he holds (I find this personally very useful in playing poker). If we are to be effective in building a positive future for education, we need to examine our own professional beliefs about the future and ensure that our images are appropriate. Here are four metaphors

from Draper Kauffman's Teaching the Future to use in reflecting on your conceptualizations of change. Which do you find best describes your day-to-day vision of the future of education?

The future can be seen as similar to a rollercoaster on a dark night. All of us are in a car on the rollercoaster, speeding along the rails. We know that we're on a fixed track which the car must follow, that our future is already determined, but we don't know where the track is going because everything is black as pitch. Now and then a flash of lighting comes and a bit of the track is exposed—we can see for just an instant what will happen next—but then it is dark again. This rollercoaster metaphor has been the dominant image of the future throughout history. In fact, one of the reasons the future did not begin to be researched until recently has simply been that for much of the past what would come was seen as predetermined, God's will, unknowable. Many of the early futurists may have died at the stake, because to speculate about the predetermined future was considered to be heresy.

A second metaphor is that the future is similar to a mighty river winding through the countryside. We are in a boat on that river. There is a generally predetermined course—the river has definite banks and a strong current—but we have more freedom to steer than on the rollercoaster. We have to follow the river, but we can avoid sandbars and, if the river forks, we can choose which direction we are to take. Many of us think about the future of the public schools in this manner; the tide of events in formal education sweeps us along, but we can choose where to steer along the surface.

A third metaphor is that the future is similar to an ocean. We are in a ship, acting as the masters of our fate, the captains of our soul. We can

choose whatever future we will if we only work for it; though there may be storms and reefs, with care we can sail the ship to where we want to be. In the 1960's, many of us, for at least a brief time, felt this way about what we could accomplish in changing education.

Finally, one can conceptualize of the future as being similar to a dice game. At any instant, the dice are shaken, a number comes up, and this number represents a decision. Then the dice are tossed again, another number appears, and through such a random series of actions the future chaotically emerges. I am working in Washington this year in the Planning Office of the National Institute of Education; as I watch how the political system works, I see many people who can empathise with the metaphor of the future as a dice game.

None of these metaphors are intrinsically right or wrong; each describes a different aspect of the ways in which the future is determined. As educators concerned with change, we need to be aware of our assumptions about these different aspects on the future, so that we can respond appropriately by clinging to the boat, steering, or mapping courses to new lands. What I want to discuss in the next portion of this article is the part of the future similar to a river.

Likely Developments in Education's Context in the Next Decade

In the next 10 years, what are the likely constraints we face? The forecasts following are speculative; I cannot prove what I'm going to set forth. But since some assumptions about the future must be made, these are a reasonable set of predictions with which to begin.

Economics

The 1980s will be a time of major economic instability and uncertainty, as chaotic a period as has existed since the 1930s (Ed Cornish describes this in more detail in his article).

The first half of the decade will likely cycle among period of low growth with very high inflation, stagnation with high inflation, and recession with moderate inflation.

The second half of the decade will probably see:

either

massive capital investment, with emerging successes in technology and technocracy beginning to lay the foundations of new prosperity

or

the relative impotence of technology and technocracy to solve current crises, followed by fiscal collapse to a new type of economic catastrophe (about 14% unemployment coupled with about 20% inflation).

Technology

The availability of inexpensive, powerful miniature computers will cause a massive shift in occupational roles over the next 10 years. Since capital-intensive industries outperform labor-intensive industries during inflationary periods, rote tasks will gradually become automated (especially in areas—such as information processing—in which no manipulative functions are required). Occupational demand will center on skills of decision-making given incomplete information, flexibility, and creativity (all of which machines are not well adapted to do).

New developments in instructional technology will offer, for certain subjects, cost-effective alternatives to traditional teaching methods. Micro-computer and videodisk hardware will be readily affordable. Limited

availability of quality software will become the major restriction on use. Corporations will increasingly utilize these instructional systems to reduce industrial training costs; middle and upper income families will use these technologies for enrichment of personal time and to enhance their learning.

Demographics

The "baby bust" generation will pose sequential problems of enrollment decline for elementary, secondary, and college level education through the 1980s. However, an upturn in student population will begin in the lower elementary grades in the middle of the decade.

The increasing presence of women in the work force, as well as greater demands for occupational education, will create needs for extra-family supervision and socialization of children.

Many immigrants will settle in metropolitan areas, including significant numbers of non-English speaking students.

High rates of mobility will cause regional flux in student populations. The Southern, Southwestern, and Rocky Mountain portions of the country will experience net population in-migration from the remainder of the United States. Out-migration of middle and upper class families to suburbs and rural areas will continue (despite gentrification). Minority and lower income students will increasingly become concentrated in urban school districts.

The proportion of elderly persons in the population will continue to rise, placing stress on income redistribution programs (such as social security and Medicare).

Cultural Values and Beliefs

Social instability and change and a growing sense of lack of control will create difficulties in "coping" for many people. Planning, leadership, and self-renewal will become increasingly problematic for institutions, as responding to crises in the "here and now" consumes ever greater amounts of time and energy. (This process is described in depth in Markley's Stanford Research Institute report, Changing Images of Man.)

The technological and bureaucratic complexity of society will pose many problems for citizens. Reliance on the advice of "experts" for most choices will become increasingly necessary (yet simultaneously resented). Uniform socialization of the population to the multiple, higher order cognitive and affective skills required for participation on society will require major expenditures of resources, yet will be essential to the proper functioning of a high technology society.

Heightened values conflict will occur, as multiple special interest groups do battle on individual ethical issues such as abortion, individual rights and responsibilities, and biomedical manipulation. Perceived incapacities of technology and technocracy to deal with current crises will cause a major struggle between those who continue to espouse a narrowly rational, high technology-based, materialistic "American Dream" and those who proselytize for a shift to a more adaptive, ecological, spiritual lifestyle (as Jean Houston espouses in her article). One risk of this cultural "civil war" at a time of economic distress is the emergence of a charismatic dictator.

Governance

Financial pressures on citizens will intensify the existing "anti-taxes" movement, and business groups will attempt to link anti-regulatory arguments to this cause. The result will be a pervasive "reduce governance"

stance. Conflicting pressures will come from those who see a single strong hand as needed to lead America out of current crises (a "charismatic leader" approach). Representative democracy will thus be eroded by pressures both for localism and for unitary authority.

Public response to emerging resources crises (e.g., water) will continue to be directed toward programs for crash priority replenishment. These will tend to be oriented toward high technological sophistication rather than conservation measures involving lifestyle changes. Competition among Federal priorities will become extremely intense, to the relative detriment of long-range needs and issues.

Demands for accountability and evidence of competence will force conservative decision-making and the production of large amounts of documentation of performance. These tendencies will create further problems in institutional ability to respond to change.

Many other likely developments in the 1980s can be cited. This representative list has been selected because these forecasts have major implications for educational equity and practice. Ultimately, a rigorous approach to anticipating educational challenges of the next decade would involve extending these forecasts to create detailed alternative scenarios of society in the mid-1990s. From such an overall environmental context, the role education must play to create a positive future can be inferred. (One such project is already in progress under the joint sponsorship of the Education Section, World Future Society and Old Dominion University, directed by Dwight Allen and myself).

Illustrative Implications for Educational Equity and Practice

The developments cited above are based on fairly cautious and conservative assessments of probable societal changes in the next 10 years.

Nonetheless, their impact on educational equity and practice is likely to be quite large, in part because many of these trends will interact in a mutually reinforcing manner. The negative feedback loops in social systems resist change so strongly that even a very powerful isolated trend frequently is suppressed. As a result, futures forecasts which rely on naive extrapolation of isolated trends tend to have low validity. However, a great many reinforcing events which combine to affect basic parameters of the society can overwhelm this inertia and lead to a basic redefinition of the social system itself. The 1980s seem to be such a period in history. A large number of major quantitative changes may well perpetrated an overall qualitative change.

An extended example of reinforcing developments may help to illustrate this point: formal education will experience very severe financial strains in the next decade because of the simultaneous impact of a number of trends. First, we seem to be approaching the maximum percentage of their income that people are willing to spend for education (currently about 8 1/2-9% of GNP). Over time, the "piece of the pie" that we've been able to claim from people's incomes has crept up and up and up—but now clients are saying, "no more".

The reason that our share of the fiscal "pie" has continuously increased has not been because we've been particularly wasteful with money, but because education is labor-intensive rather than capital-intensive (that is, we use people to produce educational outcomes instead of using machines). Auto assembly plants and steel mills are examples of capital-intensive industries; medicine and government are labor-intensive industries. Over time, capital-intensive industries cost consumers progressively less, relative to labor-intensive industries, because salaries rise faster than capital costs. (For example, from 1965 to 1975 the Consumer Price Index rose 69%; educational costs rose 155%) The initial expenditure on a huge machine and the interest

that is paid on the debt from buying the machine on credit and the repairs and the maintenance costs all are less expensive over time than people's salaries (in part, because machines continuously improve in efficiency).

Second, even small yearly reductions in budget cumulate to an enormous drain on fiscal resources fairly quickly. Right now, inflationary losses for many educational agents are running at well over fourteen percent per year, but revenues are growing at only around 7% per year: at least a 7% net loss. In 10 years, 7% loss per year will leave formal education with one-half the revenues (in real terms) it now has. Further, given the general economic woes society will probably be experiencing, we can be sure that education will not have first claim on social priorities in terms of funding—nor second, nor fifth.

Third, on top of this general economic drain, education will face spiraling resource costs—not just in energy, but in such items as water, paper, and transportation. Politics being what it is, in response to these increased costs we will see wildly changing and inconsistent policies from government. So far, the Federal response to the energy situation has been less than ideal, and in general that will continue to be true for all resource crises.

Finally, at the same time educators are facing economic woes because of the factors above—and because of dwindling enrollments due to demographic changes—we are also confronted by demands for "higher quality" education. We're supposed to train for jobs, screen for jobs, train for further schooling, screen for further schooling, socialize, entertain and babysit, keep students off the job market, prepare for citizenship, prepare for family life, and (in the remaining time available) create happy healthy human beings...on 7% per year less! The simultaneous intersection of all these trends will create very difficult times for formal education (especially public schools) and will

render solving any one of these problems that much harder.

With this background, a few examples of the implications for education of interactions among the future societal developments listed earlier are given below. (Futures researchers use a variety of methodologies to systematize the process of calculating interactions among events; for reasons of space, this intermediate reasoning has been omitted.)

Emergence of a Capital-Intensive Sector in Education

The financial squeeze higher education will experience, when coupled with two other factors, may provide the impetus for formation of a non-formal, geographically dispersed, capital-intensive system of instruction. One of these factors is the coming massive redefinition of job roles as micro-computers are used to make industries less labor-intensive as a way of coping with economic woes. The existing formal educational system is neither equipped nor cost-effective for the magnitude of adult retaining involved.

The second factor is the emergence of high quality instructional technology at a reasonable cost. Industries are already on the forefront of using these devices for teaching purposes because their efficiency and reduced staffing expenses create very high economic incentives. While the difficulties in evolving a whole new model of instruction, evaluation, and certification are substantial, the motivation for such innovation is now present. (Books did not suddenly become central when the printing press was developed; they were first widely used when an economic incentive appeared.)

Such a non-formal instructional technology system, once established for adult retraining, might quickly expand its influence because of easy add-on capabilities. For example, parents who could afford to do so would supplement their children's schooling using system software packages, and

eventually might lobby to substitute these cheaper methods for the training portion of K-12 education. Within 15 years, through such expansions, a capital-intensive system might rival the labor-intensive system in importance. The unanswered equity and practice questions of such a new educational model are numerous and troubling.

"Disparate, But Equal" Education

The roles which formal education plays in different types of communities may become quite disparate by the 1990s. Communities with a large percentage of two-wage families will expect schools to provide much higher levels of supervision and socialization than areas with predominance of one-income households. In metropolitan areas, demographic concentration of minority groups and immigrants (many non-English speaking) will create a set of educational needs quite different from those of suburban, upper-income areas. Schools (mostly private) that convert quickly to capital-intensive instructional approaches will have a very different classroom environment than the traditional, as will schools which respond to pressures for a meritocratic, high-powered system of gifted/talented education to train an elite capable of reversing America's problems.

High population mobility will ensure the need to smooth transitions among these diverse environments. Moreover, the uniformly high degree of socialization requisite for functioning in a high technology society will require some degree of national standardization and coordination. Substantial challenges for educators will result from these emerging, diverging educational roles.

Retrenching Traditional Approaches

The financial constraints which trouble formal schooling in the 1980s may be augmented by several other major problems. "Here and now" concerns will become so dominant in society that planning and leadership will become very demanding roles in education, as multiple, continual crises drain time and resources. The strains which students experience in their lives will make maintenance of traditional academic standards very difficult. A pervasive sense of lack of control will cause disillusionment, apathy, and cynicism about the possibilities of perserving the current schooling system. Voucher systems and the franchises which develop in response will further complicate this situation.

National priorities and local mandates will continually be in conflict, posing grave problems for educational decision-makers. Demands for documented accountability and competence will badly reduce the ability of educators to accomplish their basic duties. The current dissensus on what the basic content of education should be will widen.

In short, the existing model for formal education will become almost unworkable. Education will be cited as an example of a crisis area in the struggle between those who feel the "materialistic American Dream" is still possible to reach and those who argue for a less technological, more human-centered society. The challenge for educators will be to shift from a reactive to a proactive reconstructionist position which chooses among the options in this struggle by taking a united, professional stand on the future of schooling. (My ideas on the stance educators should choose are set forward in The Far Side of the Future) Whether or not this challenge is met, the consequences for American society will be very large.

Jim Bowman tells a story about a frog. He claims that one can take a pot of water, put it on the stove without a lid, place a live frog in it, and boil the frog without ever covering the pot! The trick which keeps the frog cooking is that the heat underneath the pot is turned on just a little bit, so the temperature in the water goes up very, very slowly (perhaps a degree an hour). It gets hotter and hotter and hotter in the pot, but the frog never knows when to scream and jump out because the change is so gradual—so it boils! Educators can learn from this story because every year the water in our pot is that much closer to boiling: our budgets are smaller, we've cut things we needed to keep, we assume once more that the erosion of funds is going to stop, and we're about to get cooked!

We behave like the woman who had some cocker spaniel puppies with very long tails. She wanted to be stylish and have their tails short, but she wanted to spare them the pain of cutting off their tails all at once, so she cut off an inch every day! I feel that we're beginning to do that in education, primarily because we've been unwilling to accept that the whole fiscal tail really must come off. Paring the first 25% of our mid-1970s budgets and retaining our existing methods of instruction may have been possible (barely). The further cuts we now must make will mandate a radically different approach.

The Responses We Should Choose

What should we as a group of futures-oriented educators do, if we believe that these predictions for the next 10 years are fairly accurate? Certainly, the implications for our day-to-day activities are staggering. All of education is predicted on images of the future. Our budgets make assumptions about the economy; our research is tailored to the future contexts in which it is to be used; and, when we teach students, we have a vision of what they need to know given the world in which they will be growing up.

What does it mean for all our daily work if these fundamental notions about the future that underlie so much of what we do need to be altered?

When people aren't certain about what's going to happen, or when the future seems threatening to them, the natural response is to retreat into a psychological framework in which we say, "I don't know what's really going to happen, but the safest thing to assume is that at least some things will stay the same. These perennial issues are the areas in which I'm going to work; it's too risky to respond to a mere probability." So all of us spend our time wrestling with the eternal issues and problems. I think perennial concerns are crucial and should absorb 70% of our time, but 30% of what we do needs to be oriented toward resolving the uncertain future issues outlined above.

In practice, such a stance means that where we can see things "on the river" that differ from the present, we need deliberately and explicitly to change current decision making in budget, curriculum, and instruction. Where the future is indeterminant (and you'll notice that there are large areas of the future that I have not attempted to forecast because these are equivalent to a "dice game"), we need to have the courage to take a broad spectrum, "shotgun" approach in our educational strategies. For example, we don't know when microcomputer software will become useful in teaching reading. Such a breakthrough may be eight years away, or eighteen. But, if we are making plans that involve classrooms 10 years from now, we'd better ensure that our plans are flexible enough to incorporate the potential existence of microcomputer instruction. This may sound risky, but in fact it is the least speculative stance we can adopt: to acknowledge and prepare for legitimate indeterminacy.

Given the conservatism that emerges during troubled times in education, being future-oriented in planning takes a certain degree of intellectual and professional fortitude. A parallel emotional courage is needed to look at an admittedly grim set of predictions and still believe that a positive future for education is attainable. While I know that the short-term situation is bleak and fraught with risk, I also feel the very difficulties that confront us also present real opportunities for change and growth. Educational systems are so resistant to innovation that ideological appeals seem to produce little long-term fundamental change. However, if times are bad enough, education will change out of monetary necessity, and we may be able to justify much-needed improvements in the name of stringency that we could never get otherwise.

For such a change strategy to succeed, we must anticipate the challenges that are coming and have ready pragmatic, field-tested, cost-effective innovations. Here the Education Section can play a major role in allowing us to interact among ourselves in devising such a set of models. If we work together to produce a "master plan" for low cost instruction, we may find educators surprisingly willing to adopt it simply because no other options are immediately available. We may be moving from a "river" to an "ocean" in terms of educational futures.

How might we evolve such a new model for instruction when we ourselves may become so pressed for money that even attending a yearly Education Section Conference becomes difficult? Hines and Gerlach have identified a low resources organizational structure which seems quite effective at promoting change: a segmented, polycephalous, ideological network [abbreviated SP(I)N]. SP(I)N organizations are composed of many autonomous, factional groups (hence are resistant to the cooptation, suppression, or immobilization tactics that

can be used effectively against large bureaucracies). The decentralization of SP(I)N associations ensures that they are always responsive to the needs of the membership and do not become overly dependent on a particular leader. Overlapping memberships in the factional groups which make up SP(I)Ns keep communication channels open. The ideological bond that members share provides the common motivation and purpose to keep the organization functioning.

The Education Section now has many characteristics of an SP(I)N groups. Should the economy become difficult enough, we could choose deliberately to evolve in this direction rather than toward a traditional professional association model. Similar social inventions to SP(I)N can be used, if we are creative and foresighted, to overcome the difficulties to organized innovation that a time of malaise presents.

I believe that the 1980s will be a grim period primarily because our society thought that it could get by with second-rate education for most citizens, that a high technology society could be run by a small group of experts and staffed by a large group of people with very little idea of how anything worked. This assumption was obviously wrong; a complex society requires that every citizen be as intelligent and creative as possible. The costs to our society of not educating one person—in terms of crime, welfare expenditures, and foregone productivity—are far higher than the direct costs of a good education from kindergarten through the doctoral level. For this reason, it is vital that we as educators become proactive rather than reactive in shaping education's relationship to the rest of society and in asserting that an essential part of the solution to our problems lies in a high priority for genuine educational change.

Two Closing Thoughts

Zymergy's Law of Evolving Systems Dynamics states that "if you open a can of worms, to recan the worms, a larger can is needed". Therefore, I assume that you have more questions now on the future of education than when you began this article.

Sergeant Preston's Law of the Wild states that "The Scenery Only Changes for the Lead Dog." Therefore, don't be alarmed at taking the lead with a futures perspective—the view is worth the trouble!

A STATEMENT SUBMITTED
TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
December 31, 1979

by
John W. Porter
President, Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION NEEDS
FOR THE 1980's

PREPARED FOR THE
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SECONDARY EDUCATION
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(43)

ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION NEEDS FOR THE 1980's

The greatest education need for the 1980's is to achieve equality and quality in the schooling process. There are currently too many children and youth who are not performing at "acceptable" levels. There are currently insufficient indicators to assure parents and taxpayers that "excellence" is being achieved among many public school students. There is a need in the 1980's to bring state departments of education, school districts and colleges of education together to work more closely to achieve equality and quality successes during the next decade.

Specifically, there are three state and federal actions which will be necessary if the educational establishment is to be simulated to meet the above stated needs. They are as follows:

- First, state and federal policy will have to acknowledge a direct relationship between educational attainment and employment opportunity.
- Second, state and federal policy will have to specify the acceptable levels of performance by secondary students in the Life Role Competencies.
- Third, state and federal policy will have to relate federal and state funding programs such as Title I, and ESEA to reasonable levels of basic skills performance.

If the public school is to maintain its position within society and regain its creditability among the masses, there must occur a direct relationship between one's education and one's employment during the decade of the 1980's. Such a public policy action could be the most significant domestic accomplishment of the 1980's.

A unique solution to the nation's perplexing equation is postulated in this proposal. On one side of the equation we have observed the inability of many high schools to meet the needs of those poor performing students (PPS) in the lower half of the normal distribution curve (NDC), the result being increased criticism of the public schools. On the other side of the equation is high youth unemployment (HYU), most characteristic among minorities because of a lack of jobs (LOJ) resulting in increased dependency on social services.

$$PPS + NDC = HYU + LOJ$$

To equalize both sides of the equation one must remove the evils of the normal distribution curve by instituting criterion performance measures of acceptability, but achievement of acceptability must assure job opportunities which lead to youth employment.

Serious attention to this formula would result in a tremendous impact upon the nation's public secondary schools, while at the same time maintaining a respectable standard for job placement.

With this perspective and equation formulation I come to this discussion of elementary, secondary and vocational education needs in the 1980's, particularly among minorities, from three separate vantage points--as former President of the Council of Chief State School Officers, as a former member of the President's National Commission on Employment Policy, and as a member of the National Advisory Council on Social Security.

These experiences at the national level have led me to conclude that there are three primary segments of American life--education, employment, and entitlement (a decent standard of living at retirement)--and that they must now be linked.

Not until very recently, in fact only within the past 25 years, has one's education become, in my opinion, one of the primary segments of American life--for those who have traditionally been in the lower half of the normal distribution curve.

Until the historic U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954, the schools of the nation were primarily charged with the task of screening, sorting and selecting. For those who were not inclined for whatever reason to succeed in the schools, they could through World War II find employment in unskilled jobs, farming, or domestic work, which did not require acquisition of secondary school competencies. In addition, the technological revolution which also developed within the past quarter of a century has increased the need for all secondary students to acquire life role competencies.

The fact is there are some new and unique changes around us and among us that just did not exist before 1950 and are unparalleled in our history as a nation:

1. There is television to influence our minds.
2. There are jet airplanes to quickly transport us.
3. There are computers that monitor and mesmerize us.
4. There are transistors to amuse us.
5. There are freeway mazes to zip us to the suburbs.
6. There are shopping malls of plenty and convenience.
7. There are visitations to the moon and exploration of space.
8. There are discotheques influencing behavior.
9. There are Holiday Inns and many motor inns to accomodate travelers.
10. There are credit cards to purchase our pleasures.
11. There are frozen foods and bountiful supermarkets that have changed our family habits.
12. And McDonald's and the fast food craze that have changed the way we eat.

Over half of all Americans take these events for granted, as if they always existed and the other half fail to appreciate their full implications upon the schooling process. These market place conveniences did not exist for whites or blacks, rich or poor, north or south, prior to the second half of the 20th century.

These market place conveniences have brought into the homes of the masses a perception of the good life on Mainstreet U.S.A., and have raised the level of

aspiration of those previously screened out of the schools. That, in essence, is what the challenge of the 1980's is about.

There is an urgent need to formulate a national policy framework on youth and young adult employment which can be used to evaluate specific programs and proposals.

The first principle of such a framework is whether there should be a direct relationship between a high school student acquiring employability skills and a job opportunity. I believe there should be.

Such a framework was formulated in 1935 as public policy when the nation decided there should be a direct relationship between employment and an entitlement to a decent retirement level by enacting into law the Social Security System.

Since education, employment and entitlement have emerged, in my opinion, as the three most critical segments of American life and correspond very closely to present life cycles, it seems inevitable that these three segments now be directly linked. Even today, 1979, forty-four years later two of the major issues in terms of the linkage between employment and entitlement are universal coverage and equity for women. It may take another 50 years to interface education and employment, even if we begin now.

Since Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka in 1954, the role of the school has been dramatically changed. Although education continues to be valued and a high premium in the nation, the institution that delivers a large proportion of that education, the public school, is not as highly valued.

One principle reason for this current dilemma is that the public school has always been regarded in the past as the nation's "great screener" rather than the nation's "great equalizer," and in this regard the public has been well served by the public school.

There is, however, an urgent need to link education and employment. Such a linkage currently exists between our school systems and the higher education institutions in terms of federal assistance and state programs.

In this respect, the declining birth rate may lead to a change in the supply/demand picture for youth and young adults, further aggravating the situation.

Without an established linkage now those in the lower half of the normal curve, the minorities in disproportionate numbers may find themselves further disadvantaged, and the role of the public school further weakened.

After two years of hearings, meetings and reports, the Youth Task Force of the National Commission on Employment Policy made seven recommendations in regard to what should take place in terms of a federal initiative.

Although it may take many years to fashion a comprehensive linkage between education and employment, the need for a national youth employment policy framework is now.

Furthermore, I believe three ingredients toward such a framework could be established by federal legislation that would require:

1. An agreement on and measurable employability skills.
2. Each senior high school receiving federal funds to prepare an individual employability plan for each student.
3. Those students at graduation who were certified externally that they possessed employability competencies would be guaranteed jobs by the states. This could be implemented by federal legislation providing matching funds to states that became the employer of last resort for all 18 through 21 year olds. The first responsibility of the state would be to assist those who apply to locate jobs in the private sector. Only after that effort failed would the state be required to contract in the public sector or generate jobs.

The establishment of employability skills as the first of the three components is not as difficult as some would lead us to believe. In Michigan we have identified one dozen employability skills essential for success in the world of work:

1. Functional reading skills
2. Effective writing skills
3. Effective verbal skills
4. Practical computational skills
5. Ability to follow directions
6. Ability to project mental alertness and physical soundness
7. Punctuality
8. Report to assignments consistently
9. Enthusiasm for one's assignment
10. Sense of suitable and appropriate attire
11. Applying and understanding requirements of the job
12. Ability to get along with others

The first six of these employability skills can be measured through utilization of our 10th grade state assessment of student needs test, and our 12th grade employability and occupational skills test will measure through on the job training and observation the remaining six employability skills.

Many states are now moving toward the improvement of secondary education through additional funding and specificity of a different curriculum for all students.

As we in Michigan begin to look at the issues facing the senior high schools in our state, we see the steps that have to be undertaken to improve the ability of the schools to respond to all their students:

- First, there must be an assessment of the students' basic skills as they come into the 10th grade.

- Second, there must be several different options for students to fulfill the overall goals of the school and community.
- Third, there must be life role competencies, e.g., those skills in occupational and employability endeavors, aesthetic and humanistic appreciations, civic and social responsibilities, and personal and family management taught in the schools that prepare students for adult life, available to all the schools in the state, and there must be a means of assessing students' performance in those competencies.
- Fourth, there must be incentive available to the senior high schools to encourage them to implement the life role competencies into their school program.
- Fifth, there must be incentives to bring together small high schools in an effort to have them provide a variety of educational and employment opportunities that have an economy of scale that is beneficial to students.
- And sixth, there must be a vital link between the schools, job opportunities and job placement.

We are a nation of 17,000 autonomous school districts, with 50 states and six territories that supervise public instruction. There currently exists no public linkage in this decentralized mechanism, even though as a nation our employment problems, our energy problems, and our technological advances tend to force the entire nation toward a single direction.

Such a plan would have long term economic development implications and to procrastinate may shift the emphasis in such a way that the development process is lost. The current youth unemployment problem is more than just a supply and demand issue, and should be addressed in its fullest sense.

I have suggested specific steps that could be taken to meet the vocational education needs of youth in the 1980's and also specific steps to revitalize secondary education for those who in the past have not performed at acceptable levels in high school.

At the elementary level the problems of basic skills attainment and acceptable levels of performance are being solved, but there are two specific actions needed to accelerate the current pace.

- First is the need to bring about a direct linkage between (1) student expectations, (2) textbooks purchased, (3) tests used, and (4) report cards sent home. In most schools these are not now directly linked, making the schooling process difficult for the disadvantaged child and confusing for the parent.
- Second is the need to direct more funding into the retraining and upgrading of school staffs. Because of the decline in the student population and the increased attainment of graduate credit for state certification, the current school personnel force will lack individual incentives for acquiring new knowledge and skills even though the new laws demand such.

I began this position paper by stating the three major state and federal actions needed in the 1980's to bring about equality and quality. I then talked about the specifics for vocational education, secondary education and finally elementary education. I wish now to return to the issue of youth and young adult employment problems because I believe that the reform of elementary, secondary and vocational education will take place only to the extent that the nation reforms its youth-young adult employment policy.

At present the national policy is that to do good in elementary and secondary is to get into colleges, thus we spend billions for grants and scholarships and have elaborate counseling services. If one fails to elect college or the military and does not have family connections in the business world, he or she is virtually on his or her own.

This national policy permeates the elementary and secondary schools and prohibits any significant long-lasting reforms. This is the major reason that I was very pleased that the National Commission on Employment Policy realized a need to get involved in the area and created a Youth Task Force to study possible approaches. Chairman Eli Ginzberg and the Commission Director Isabel Sawhill are to be commended.

In its examination of youth employment problems, the Youth Task Force concluded that the problems of youth unemployment, especially minority youth unemployment, can be traced to the failure of many youth to acquire basic skills or to develop employability skills. These failures can be attributed to several causes. The Task Force concluded that not all of the causes can be attacked on all fronts and that efforts must be concentrated on programs and institutions that are amenable to federal policy initiatives.

The Task Force's seven interrelated recommendations are designed to lead to improved educational attainment and enhanced employability development for future generations of young people who, in the absence of such programs, are likely to experience the same employment problems as their predecessors.

The recommendations of the Task Force are recapitulated as follows:

- The Youth Task Force's first recommendation is that a new amendment to the career education act be enacted in a federal law providing matching grants to state education agencies to be utilized by school districts to implement such programs.*
- The Youth Task Force's second recommendation is that more detailed studies of the interrelationship between economic development and inner city employment/unemployment should be undertaken by the federal agencies, including the National Commission for Employment Policy, with the intent to discover additional means of providing job opportunities in nontraditional ways.

*"Such program" refers to expanded career awareness, vocational exploration and experienced-based education programs.

- The Task Force's third recommendation is that work-study and other work experience programs involving the payment of wages or allowances from federal funds, be targeted by residence and income to the economically disadvantaged, defining economically disadvantaged students as those who are from families whose income does not exceed 100% of the lower living standard income level.
- The Task Force's fourth recommendation is that the federal government should continue to encourage different kinds of services and mixes of services, but that a specific federal agency should be designated to determine those programs which work best in terms of placing youth in the private sector and in terms of the retention of such youth on jobs in the private sector.
- The Task Force's fifth recommendation is to consolidate the various youth programs, with the exception of the entitlement demonstration, into one youth title with a single eligibility criterion, and to provide monies for the program on an advance funding basis. Such a change would allow the prime sponsors the flexibility they need to provide comprehensive services tailored to the needs of their youth population and the resources available locally.
- The Task Force's sixth recommendation is the establishment of a federal requirement that the states under a matching grant program become employers of the last resort in those cases where: (1) young people have completed regular school or have completed a program under an employment and training activity; (2) have had their employability certified by the United States Employment Service; and (3) with state assistance are unable to find regular, unsubsidized employment.
- The Task Force's seventh and final recommendation is that any agency requesting funding for training programs certify in advance that they agree with the established common standards of measurable program effectiveness in terms of basic skill and employability skill attainment. Certification of such attainment is to be determined by an agency external to the grant recipient and prime sponsor.

It may take the federal government several years to discuss appropriate strategies for implementing these recommendations, but in the state of Michigan, as I noted earlier, efforts have been moving steadily toward attainment of the principle of an identifiable set of employability skills, and individual employability plan for each senior high school student, and the state becoming the employer of the last resort.

Legislation has been drafted for introduction in the 1980 legislative session to implement both concepts: The employability skills in 1980, the Individual Employability Plan (IEP) in the fall of 1981, and the state as employer of last resort in 1983. Copies of the proposed legislation are available upon request.

Whether states utilize the idea of education-work council as proposed by Willard Wirtz in terms of job identification and the employment service for job placement is optional.

The primary principle being pursued by these proposals is not complicated or difficult to comprehend:

- FIRST: Public high schools must be given more support if they are to better respond to the heterogeneity that now exists among their clients.
- SECOND: Youth and young adults must be made aware of the specific criteria that is expected of them as they enter senior high schools in this era of competency testing.
- THIRD: States that require youngsters to stay in school from 6 to 16, must assume a new role of being required to assist those youth 16 to 18 who acquire employability skills to get jobs if that is an option which they pursue.

There is nothing "welfarist" about this proposal. It is embedded in the best traditions of education accountability and the principles of our capitalistic enterprise, and is the most direct means of responding to the elementary, secondary and vocational education needs of the 1980's.

The Brown Decision, Pluralism, and the Schools in the 1980s

Remarks by Harold Howe II

Vice President for Education and Research, the Ford Foundation,
at a meeting of Chief State School Officers of the United States
Smugglers' Notch, Vermont, August 1, 1979

The myths we live by are often more significant than the facts of our lives. In the United States we have changed our myths in your lifetime and mine. When most of us gathered here went to elementary school, one prevailing myth about America and Americans was faith in the melting pot, a term for which we are indebted to Israel Zangwill, who wrote at the turn of the century, "America is God's Crucible, the Great Melting Pot where all races of Europe are melting and reforming." We saw ourselves and our fellow Americans as persons with strong common denominators based on a common history, on a common and somewhat simplistic patriotism, and on the hope of success in a land that had provided freedom and opportunity to many. We believed that those who joined us from abroad--ordinarily Europe--might have trouble getting started in America, but we were sure from the experience of past generations that the benign action of the melting pot would soon turn them into "real" Americans, who shared the traditions and beliefs of the rest of us and who would start climbing the ladder of success as soon as they were Americanized.

Most of us conveniently forgot that persons with black skins, Hispanics whose ancestors may have arrived here before our own, and Native Americans were exceptions to this myth, and those who remembered this unpleasant fact

tended to regard it as an exception rather than a denial of the myth. Persons who insisted on preserving their native language and culture were seen as almost un-American. If they chose this foolish course, we were not to blame for the troubles they encountered in America. Persons whose ancestors had been slaves were subjected to official and unofficial discrimination. Native Americans had suffered a special kind of inequality to which we had grown accustomed. Many states in our Union maintained ingenious ways to deprive Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans of political, economic, and personal rights even though the Constitution under which we all lived forbade discrimination on the basis of race, religion, or national origin.

Our parents' vision of the myth in those years of our own elementary education saw the schools as the main device for heating the melting pot, particularly the schools of the cities. Under their influence, the illiterate would become literate, the foreign would become American and shed their strangeness, and the bottom rungs of the ladder of success would become available to most everyone. It was a comforting view, that made us feel good about our land and ourselves. It's too bad it was only half true, with enough misconceptions and errors to warrant labelling it a myth.

Today we have a new and different myth that grows in part from our national experience in the 1960s and 1970s. It is called pluralism, and its main feature is denial of the melting pot. Now American society is seen by many as a loose association of competing groups, each of which makes a first claim on the

loyalty and interest of its members--a claim so strong that it often supersedes or ignores the common denominators that hold us together as one people. We have become a nation of minorities, each emphasising its race or its language or its culture or its national origin or some combination of these. Of course, pluralism as an idea for characterising American society has been around for a long time, but only recently has it gained ascendancy over the melting pot.

The schools are caught up in this new myth, just as they were in the old one. Under a decision of the Supreme Court, the language of a minority must be recognized in the schools, and we have invented bilingual education, a concept to which we give numerous definitions depending on the characteristics of the group and sometimes of the individual. Various groups demand that the curriculum of the schools recognize their past history and their cultural interests, and the schools regard it as their duty to respond. Group loyalties are so powerful that they impel people to deny the dream of an integrated school and an integrated society and to stick together in relative isolation, even though this may ultimately defeat the aspiration most people have for joining the mainstream of economic success and the guarantee of individual rights.

The Brown decision and the developments that flowed from it powerfully influenced the transition from one myth to the other, less as a result of the specific arguments of the decision itself than of the forces it awakened in the land, forces that gathered strength rapidly in the 1950s, deeply affected our national life in the 1960s, and solidified themselves in recent years. While the legal impact of the

Brown decision was to overturn the doctrine of "separate but equal," stemming from the earlier Court ruling in Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896, its real impact was in the assertion that racial characteristics are unacceptable in the United States as a basis for decisions of government about people. It proclaimed the end of second-class citizenship and called for equality in the broadest sense. More than that, it said to millions of Americans, who had been officially discriminated against, not only that they were equal to their oppressors but also that they had some right to redress of wrongs from those same parties. It qualified that right of redress by saying it could not be expected immediately but "with all deliberate speed," whatever that meant. In effect Brown said, you can't have two melting pots, one for Europeans and one for others who will be kept separate.

Armed with this elusive promise of equality, Blacks, Hispanics, and some others set out to capture the rights they had been promised but denied, and they found it no easy task. No one was going to give them their newly defined legal rights on a platter. They would have to fight for them in busses, at lunch counters, at voter registration offices, with school boards, in state legislatures, in the United States Congress, and in the courts. The fight was to be long and frustrating and bitter, and it is not over yet. Nor will it be when you and I pass on our responsibilities for education to another generation.

An important by-product of that long and bitter fight was the increased solidarity of the minority groups engaged in it. The frustrations encountered

by Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans as they attempted to claim rights that were legally theirs but denied them in practice turned them back to their own fellowship for psychological sustenance. Only a few of them succeeded in joining the mainstream, in making the transition to the middle class, or in attaining a true rapport that could be described as integration with the dominant white group. In effect the melting pot remained a concept for European immigrants rather than for our country's oldest minorities.

These experiences fertilized the seeds of pluralism, a doctrine that proclaims quite correctly that a person's race and heritage and language are qualities to be proud of and to draw strength from rather than to be denied and rejected. The "Black is Beautiful" emphasis through which we passed in the 1960s, was an exaggerated but necessary phase of this phenomenon. Other examples were black, Hispanic, and other studies introduced almost overnight in schools and colleges. They frequently were ill-conceived and ill-taught, and they sometimes resulted in denial of a solid education for young people; but they met a deep need for self-definition and self-respect in minority groups. Still another example was the demand of Blacks for black dormitories and social centers on college campuses that surprised many white college presidents, who thought that integration was what minority persons should want.

As Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans began to make some gains through their newly effective solidarity, other ethnic groups in American society had two reactions. First, they resented the competition of the older minorities, particularly at the transition point from government-supported poverty

to economic independence. They saw more Blacks making that transition and believed, rightly in some instances, that Blacks' economic ascent challenged their own. Secondly, they saw that this kind of change was possible for Blacks and for some Hispanics because they were organized into groups that could bring leverage on government and get results.

These two lessons combined to denigrate the melting pot as the model for success in America, and various groups joined the pluralist bandwagon as the route to their own salvation. In effect they said "the hell with waiting around to be assimilated into the mainstream; we must organize and get ours quicker, just as the Blacks are doing."

At this point I am prepared to concede that the foregoing is a simplistic interpretation of a complex series of events. I am prepared also to argue that there is enough validity to it to use it as a taking off point for talking about what our schools need to consider as they plan their strategies for serving American society in the years ahead. The 1980s will be a time when our schools must revive some of the virtues of the melting pot, reduce some of the excesses of pluralism, and blend these two together in a new vision of American society that seeks simultaneously to identify important common denominators for all our people, while recognizing the richness and value of the many traditions and cultures from which Americans claim major elements of their strength and their satisfaction.

You may want to argue that these two concepts are fundamentally opposed and that we must go one way or the other--that we cannot be many peoples and

one people at the same time. In response to this, I say only that we can if we will try hard enough. The same type of argument is frequently made about education in America, when it is asserted that we cannot achieve an educational system that has both excellence and equality as its major characteristics. I submit, however, that a fair look at the evidence suggests we have gone a long way in our schools and colleges toward achieving these twin purposes simultaneously. Right now we are going through a phase of attempting to repair the quality of excellence in our schools, just as we went through a phase in the 1960s of emphasis on openness and equal opportunity. Today we too easily forget that each succeeding generation of Americans has been more literate than its predecessor; and in our enthusiasm for repairing evident shortcomings in the schools, we forget also their great achievements in providing this society with an educated citizenry.

So it is possible in America to fit together into a working whole strong trends that have some elements of opposition. It takes persistence, good judgment and firm resistance to the temptations of extremism. It places special strains on leaders, who must avoid over-reacting to the cyclical swings of reform movements and losing a sense of balance.

A society that succeeds in balancing the claims of pluralism and the melting pot will be like a smoothly working jazz combo.* The instrumentalists merge their playing to create their music, which is then powerfully augmented

* I am indebted to Professor David Riesman of Harvard University for the idea of this analogy.

and enriched as one after another--the pianist, the drummer, the trumpeter, the saxophonist, and the bass player--performs in his personal and unique style with a solid background from the rest of the group. One may shine more than another; if he can, so be it. But the set always ends with a flourish in which all are interwoven and with a result that is greater than the sum of the solo parts.

The fact of racial differences in America has placed a greater strain on the myth of the melting pot than any other of the factors that occasionally divide our people. And the same fact has created a dilemma for the concept of pluralism, which to be workable at all must assume that groups seeking to preserve their identity will have equal opportunity, not only for group status but also for the individual standing of group members in the larger society. During most of our history, we have denied equality in status both to racially identifiable groups and to individuals from those groups. It was the Brown decision that pulled us up short by asserting that race was unacceptable as a basis for decisions by government about Americans.

This past history casts its shadow over all of us every day of our lives. We cannot escape it. It tests our moral fiber, our idealism, and our commitment to what we say we believe. When we hold up a mirror and look at ourselves honestly, that shadow dominates our reflection.

Nowhere is the strain and stress of living in this shadow more evident than in those institutions which serve the coming generation and to which we commit a large proportion of our hopes for the future, the elementary and secondary schools. We depend fundamentally on the schools, both to pass on to

our children the civilization we have inherited, as well as to create in them the wit and the will to continually reshape that civilization closer to our ideas than we have. In spite of the studies of some social scientists, who contend that education is unable to overcome the handicaps of racial discrimination and economic disadvantage, and in spite of the claims of a few theorists who argue that traits of mind and motivation are innate and immutable, Americans generally remain committed to the view that we can create schools with the capacity to move people out of the shadows of the past and into a new era of light. While that commitment has wavered some in recent years, it generally remains strong. We will allow it to erode at our peril.

For the twenty-five years since the Brown decision, a significant arena for testing our commitment to fairness in American society has been the embattled issue of school desegregation. There are other important elements in the long American march to a just society, including issues about employment opportunities and political rights on which some progress has been made, but the central concern for educators and an important continuing challenge for all Americans is ridding our schools of the taint of racism. We have made some progress on this front also, but we have a long way to go before we are anywhere near the dream that was so powerfully enunciated from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington by Martin Luther King in 1963.

This is not the place for a history of the ebb and flow of the contest over school desegregation. Most of you have lived through it and have vivid memories, as I do, of victories and defeats, of pursuing what turned out to be simplistic

and ineffective solutions, and of fashioning remedies for segregation and racial isolation that placed the burden of redressing these wrongs more heavily on their victims than on the perpetrators. There was rarely a better contest for Monday morning quarterbacking than the contest over desegregation of the schools.

We have learned some hard lessons from our experience with school desegregation in the years since the Brown decision, although we are not always willing to admit it. The two most important lessons of the first twenty-five years since Brown should shape our thinking as we plan our course for the 1980s:

- First, the forces in American society that bring about segregated living and produce racial isolation in neighborhoods and schools are not within the control of the schools nor of the authorities that operate them, although those authorities sometimes align themselves with these forces rather than opposing them. These forces stem on the one hand from private decision-making that is too often motivated by well disguised racial prejudice and on the other from government programs in housing, transportation, and other areas of national policy with objectives unrelated to education but with powerful if unintended effects on where people live and where their children go to school.
- Second, it is simplistic to believe, as many of us did well into the 1960s, that merely bringing together in school children from minority and white majority backgrounds will, in and of itself, provide minority children with the special opportunities they need to move out of the shadow of more than a hundred years of legal and illegal discrimination.

The first of these lessons about the forces that encourage racial isolation in the living patterns of our cities and suburbs should make us rethink our long-term strategy for school desegregation in the years ahead. It is just plain unrealistic to expect that solely by litigation and its resulting court orders for a variety of traditional remedies such as magnet schools, bussing, redistricting, pairing of schools and the like, we can devise a permanent solution to the school desegregation problems of the massive concentrations of minority group people collected in our largest cities. Nor it is reasonable to assume that enforcement action by HEW under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act can do much more than nibble at the edges of such problems.

I do not want to be misunderstood on this point, for I am not advocating the end of bussing, the curtailment of litigation, or any decline in the energy with which HEW pursues its duty to enforce the law. All these activities must continue. They are the best medicines we can prescribe now for the disease of segregated urban schools. They bring some change and some progress, and in some smaller cities they offer real hope of beneficial change. But in the most difficult situations, they are palliatives rather than cures. It is possible that litigation seeking metropolitan solutions that include suburban and central city school systems in common desegregation plans may be of major help, but so far the federal courts have been wary of this approach.

There are, however, important possibilities for a more comprehensive, long-term strategy directed at avoiding the condition of two separate societies—one white and one black and Hispanic—or perhaps even three separate societies,

with the rapidly growing proportion of Hispanics settled in enclaves of linguistic and cultural separatism--a development which holds the danger for the United States of its own Spanish-speaking version of the Canadian experience in Quebec. Such a strategy might be forged by bringing together in the courts, in enforcement actions through the administrative departments of government, and in various incentive schemes, the multiple concerns about racial discrimination in schools, in housing, and in other areas.

In recent months the Justice Department has reorganized its efforts to attack discrimination in education and in housing by bringing these two usually separate fields under the same office in its Civil Rights Division. The possibility of school desegregation suits with fair housing litigation worked into them to bring the federal courts into these two clearly related issues at the same time is already being explored in the Justice Department.

On the administrative enforcement front under the requirements of the 1964 and 1968 Civil Rights Acts, it should be possible to devise joint administrative enforcement actions by HUD and HEW, although the idea of two separate departments cooperating in such a politically volatile task probably isn't practical without an initiative from the President to tell them to do so. Desegregation of schools or housing or anything else is not a popular subject with any President, and the last three of them have managed to avoid it most of the time. It is unpopular because it is a loser in the political sense; you stand to lose more votes than you gain by insisting that racial minorities enjoy their constitutional rights to non-discriminatory housing and schooling. But what if a President had

enough vision to see that a new long-term strategy linking housing policies and school desegregation might enable him to suggest the possibility of reducing court orders requiring bussing and of eventually reducing the need for bussing to give children their constitutional rights? It seems to me that such a promise might be turned into a political asset. Right now when the former Secretary of HUD has just become the Secretary of HEW isn't a bad time to consider joint approaches to discrimination in education and housing.

Incentive programs can be conceived that don't require racial integration but that reward it sufficiently to make city planners, school authorities, and even individual families think twice about foregoing the economic benefits offered for desegregated schools and housing. I shall not attempt to stipulate the details of such programs, but I do believe that they constitute a relatively unexplored area. We have something of the kind now in what is called Emergency School Assistance for school districts that are actively desegregating and have need for special funds. Preferences for housing loans both in terms of who gets them and the rate of interest might encourage some movement away from racial concentrations and toward integrated living patterns. Certainly we need to recognize that the record of federally supported housing authorities in creating the ghettos of America is not a proud one, and we should find ways to turn their influence in more constructive directions. I wonder if anyone has thought of requiring the new and popular tax free bonds issued by cities and towns for private housing mortgages to satisfy a test of racial integration before receiving approval of tax exemption.

To sum up these observations on new initiatives in school desegregation, let me quote from a letter I received from Paul Dimond, one of the attorneys involved in the recent Columbus and Dayton cases before the Supreme Court, and a person with a significant record in seeking both constitutional rights and better education for the children in our schools.

"In all our thinking about new initiatives, however, I don't think we should ever let HUD, HEW, Commerce, and Justice off the hook easily. They do have large program and enforcement responsibilities that could be coordinated and redirected in a fashion that is consistent with ending the process of segregation. I don't accept as inevitable, for example, that HUD programs must aid middle income-persons to be consistent with integration objectives; that HUD, Commerce, and HEW low-income and urban revitalization efforts must perpetuate segregation rather than promote integration; that the Justice Department must forever rely solely on litigation, rather than including administrative oversight and coordination, because of the in-bred biases of some lawyers; that Title VI, Title VII, or Title VIII* must inevitably slip into disrepute from lack of creative implementation and failure to date to establish any substantive standards. Better federal policy and action in these areas is politically feasible and administratively workable;

* Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 on fair housing

and it certainly is not inconsistent with grass-roots and incentive approaches. We can and should ask more of the Carter Administration and its successor administrations, even while building a better political climate and developing and targeting some creative and effective incentive efforts and enforcement strategies for integration." *

Turning to the second of our hard-won lessons on school desegregation, what can be said about the paucity of evidence that school desegregation has so far produced large-scale improvements in measurable learning among black children? We are in about the same place in studying the effects of school desegregation that we were in studying the significance of class size twenty years ago. We have slowed up the process of making newly designed studies from basic data and started to do studies of past studies.

The most recent of these by Robert Crain and Rita Mahard of the Rand Corporation shows that 73 studies of school desegregation found positive effects on black achievement in 40, negative effects in 12, and no effects at all in 21 for a generally positive picture of the learning effects of school desegregation as contrasted with more negative views expressed earlier by the renowned James Coleman, the patriarch among analytical scholars of racial differences in schools.

* letter to Harold Howe II from Paul R. Dimond, June 27, 1979

I don't expect much more insight from studies like these than is already available to us. By and large, the finer points of interpretation that emerge from the regression equations used by sophisticated analysts are of more use to scholars for the conduct of arguments with each other than they are to teachers, principals, and school superintendents for improving education. Nor are these studies much use to those whose obligation it is to enforce the law and to bring students their constitutional right to desegregated schools. As I shall point out in more detail in a moment, the constitutional obligation to desegregate the schools has little or nothing to do with the learning outcomes of meeting such requirements.

About all that can be said now about the effects of desegregation is that sometimes it helps learning and sometimes it doesn't; probably more often than not, it does. The mechanisms by which desegregation is introduced into schools and classrooms determine the consequences for learning. But the naive hope some of us had that desegregating the schools would rapidly remove the learning differences between blacks and whites turns out to be exactly what it was, naive. As the Carnegie Council on Children underlined for us in its 1977 report, All Our Children,* the handicaps inherent in the economic conditions, health, and other disadvantages suffered by poor and minority families are

* All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure by Kenneth Keniston, 1977, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

fundamental causes of inequality that can limit the child's capacity to take advantage of the traditional school program.

But this does not mean that educators should either give up in despair while awaiting the advent of economic equity or reduce their efforts to improve and desegregate the schools. About the only help that educators can get from social scientists is the realization that the job they are trying to do is more complex than they expected. In a sense, this is real help because it allows them to deal with reality rather than with unrealistic hopes. But in terms of what to do that is different from what they are doing and that might make a difference, educators are pretty much on their own. They will have to draw on hunches, on very limited evidence from research, and more than anything else on their own notions of what is right. Using such sources as my guide, I want to bring these observations to a close with some suggestions for those responsible for the schools in the 1980s.

First of all, don't be deterred from desegregating the schools because doing so seems to have limited effects on test scores in reading and mathematics. That is not what school desegregation is all about, at least in the first instance. The constitutional requirement to desegregate where there is evidence of discrimination by public authority was established by the Supreme Court in 1954 and reiterated by it a month ago in the Dayton and Columbus cases. It has nothing to do with tests, achievement levels, or other scorekeeping by educators. It is instead a prohibition of racial discrimination by official bodies. As James Coleman himself once said, "Let's suppose the 1966 research of mine

(Equality of Educational Opportunity) had come out with the opposite conclusion--namely, that black children did worse in predominantly middle-class schools. Should the courts have used that as an argument? I cannot envision a decision saying that segregation is constitutionally required because black children do better in segregated classrooms." *

I would add to James Coleman's assertion opposing official discrimination that constitutional rights cannot and should not be conditioned by student performance. We assure freedom for the press in our constitution and suffer numerous abuses from the fourth estate in order to preserve it. Freedom of religion allows many practices that a majority of Americans would at best consider foolish. Why do we insist that the constitutional right to freedom from racial discrimination by public authority makes no sense unless it produces better reading scores?

But if we desegregate the schools to give children their constitutional rights regardless of the learning outcomes, we still have the overwhelmingly important job of doing something about the latter. It is probably true that the deprivations of poverty and racial discrimination over long years cannot be entirely overcome by the schools alone. Nevertheless, there are enough instances of success by skilled teachers working in alliance with parents who care and with the encouragement of dedicated principals to make me think that

* New York Times Magazine, August 24, 1975

the schools can do considerably more than they are now doing. And the gains that the schools can make are not dependent upon completing the process of desegregation, although that can help to some degree. In addition to meeting our legal obligations we must learn to use the talent we have in America's schools to raise the skills and the morale of those teachers and principals who now find their task unmanageable and their jobs frustrating.

I suspect that one reason for the decline in morale and the growth of discouragement among school teachers has been the vote of no confidence they have received from the political representatives of the American people. I know of no profession that has been harassed to the same degree by politicians, who have decided to take into their own hands the details of a complex business, teaching and learning, that these same politicians know very little about. They have imposed state laws about the accountability of teachers and the testing of children that intrude into the educational process in unforeseen ways. The bandwagon of basic competency testing has spread so rapidly that it is hard to find a state without this unproved nostrum as its main answer to the improvement of teaching and learning.

You and I know that educational measurement carefully and properly used has some value in a school improvement program, and we know also that without a much larger investment in ensuring quality of instruction it has little value and is probably a deterrent to learning. I wonder why we have allowed this wave of muddle headed thinking and ill-informed action to break over us? Overemphasis on tests is analogous to a medical procedure that consists solely of diagnosis

without ever prescribing a remedy. In addition, most of the testing now being required is useless for defining the remedy needed for an individual child.

In schools which have undergone formal desegregation there is a special opportunity because the process of desegregating shakes things up and offers the chance to rethink organization, curriculum, and other fundamental elements of the school's program. Where this opportunity is grasped imaginatively, there is research evidence that learning improves.

All this suggests that we will have to spend the 1980s fashioning programs in every school to help teachers to be more successful with children. Such efforts can succeed. They depend upon learning how to take into account the beliefs, attitudes, and culture that children bring to school with them. They depend also upon working with children as individuals, maintaining high expectations in school for all the children there, building links between the school and the home, providing resources to help teachers with difficult problems, strengthening principals' skills as instructional leaders, and turning our energies in educational research from large-scale surveys of highly analysed data to careful observation and illumination of the intimate business of teaching and learning that occurs between teacher and child.

In support of these assertions, I call to your special attention the recent research in London by Michael Rutter and his colleagues. They appear to me to be well on the way to proving that schools with certain characteristics can and do make a difference to so-called disadvantaged students, and to proving in addition that the factors in schools that matter most in determining their capacity for

positive influences on "pupils' behavior, attendance, exam success and delinquency" are "the characteristics of schools as social institutions." Their study concludes "that schools can do much to foster good behavior and attainments, and that even in a disadvantaged area, schools can be a force for good." *

These are refreshing assertions in the face of the oversimplified generalisations that the United States media have popularised to the effect that schools don't make a difference. As I have noted earlier, schools may not be able all on their own to overcome all the effects of poverty and discrimination, but there is clear evidence in Rutter's research that they can be much more effective in moving toward this goal if they are properly organized and operated. This will come as no news to many teachers and principals, but it may surprise a few social scientists, who are accustomed to judging the schools by reading computer printouts rather than visiting them. This is like studying matrimony by reading the divorce statistics.

Bringing about a commitment to these purposes in our schools cannot be legislated by state or national government. It is more the business of local school boards and local superintendents and still more the concern of principals and teachers. But state and national governments can help in two ways--by providing funds and by refraining from writing detailed prescriptions about how they are to

* Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children, Michael Rutter et al, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979, p. 205

be used. The best rethinking and reform of practice in the schools will come from persons who encounter children every day, not from persons removed from that experience.

Back in 1967 the Congress and the President created the Education Professions Development Act to provide resources for the retraining of teachers and other educational personnel. The core of this legislation was allowed to lapse in 1975. Although it had some imperfections, we need something like it in the 1980s. Also, we need to recognize in states and local districts that funds from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the really large-scale source of federal money for schools, can be turned to the same purposes. In addition, schools need more freedom than they are now allowed to combine funds from different sources for the benefit of children in the classroom. The concept that the numerous federal programs for assistance to education must be separate and discrete in the school is a prescription for educational chaos.

In conclusion I return to where this discussion began, to the myths we live by. One of those myths is that Americans can solve any problem in short order if only they will turn their energies to the task. The experience of the past twenty years in the schools with the related issues of school desegregation and school improvement should by now have convinced us that as far as the schools are concerned, this is indeed a myth. We are engaged in a long, difficult struggle with intractable and multi-faceted difficulties. We shall still be so engaged at the onset of the 1990s. There is no quick fix.

But in the ten years ahead of us we have a chance to make some progress. That chance depends upon tempering our attitudes toward both pluralism and the melting pot in ways that will allow us to draw strength from both, upon rethinking our obligations and our strategies for bringing children their constitutional rights under the Brown decision, and upon school reform fundamentally based on the exchange between teachers and children.

THE NEEDS OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY
EDUCATION FOR THE 1980'S

RALPH W. TYLER

DIRECTOR EMFRITUS, CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY
IN THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE AND SENIOR CONSULTANT
SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

ASSUMPTIONS

The needs of education in a nation depend to a considerable extent upon the conditions in the country at that time. Hence, in discussing the needs of American elementary and secondary education for the 1980's, it is necessary to state the assumptions made about relevant conditions that seem likely to be present through much of that decade.

I am assuming that the birth rate of mothers with little or no education, especially that of illegal immigrants, will continue to be much higher than that of mothers who have completed at least ten grades of schooling. For this reason, I estimate that the proportion of disadvantaged children in our school population will continue to be 15% to 20% of the total in spite of the increasing number of adults who have completed high school. These children will be found mostly in very rural areas of the South and Southwest, and in the "Inner Cities" of the large metropolitan areas.

The total population of school children will continue to decline until 1985 and then increase at the rate of 1% or 2% per year through the end of the decade. This increase is estimated because the large number of children of the "Baby Boom" after World War II who are reaching their child-bearing years.

I am assuming that the demand for educated persons in America will continue to increase because of: (1) the increasing use of science and technology that eliminates the demand for unskilled labor while increasing the occupational demand for persons with intellectual and social skills, (2) the increasing complexity of the nation's economic, political, and social problems that require educated citizens to provide intelligent public support for sensible solutions, (3) the increasing need for educated parents to deal constructively with the problems involved in the development of children and youth in American society, and (4) the rising aspirations of parents for the education of their children.

Finally, I am assuming relatively austere financial support for elementary and secondary schools because of the increased demands for public support of other social services. This increasing number of senior citizens make social security more costly. The demand for police and fire protection, for health services and for public transportation produce increasing pressure to hold constant expenditures for public education or even to reduce them. Hence, it seems unlikely that American

elementary and secondary schools can obtain a significant increase in their support from tax funds.

Educating Disadvantaged Children

It is possible in the desire to develop an ideal system of elementary and secondary schools to list many needs, but the resources that can be mobilized to meet the needs are always limited compared to this ideal. I shall focus my discussion on four serious problems faced by American public schools, problems which require substantial assistance if they are to be solved. The first, and in some respects the most obvious is that of educating the disadvantaged children that seem likely to continue to represent 15% to 20% of the nation's school population.

In the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Congress gave explicit attention to the serious problems schools face in educating children who come from homes of poverty, where their parents have had little or no education. Many of these children were not learning what the schools were teaching. The legislation provided for substantial financial aid to the public schools enrolling a considerable concentration of these disadvantaged children to enable the schools to help the children to learn. In the first few years of these efforts very little measurable progress was noted, but as of 1976, nearly half were showing favorable results. However, progress is slow because of the many difficulties arising from educational assumptions and principles which were developed when societal conditions were different and our knowledge of the conditions

required for learning was very primitive. Attitudes of educators and the public have been slow to change while educational practices have had to be reexamined or reconstructed in the light of new experiences and experiments. The investigations of Francis Chase and his colleagues of the Urban Education Studies show clearly that the teacher's attitudes toward disadvantaged children is a major factor in their learning.

Where teachers clearly cared about their students, set high standard for their achievement and encouraged them, the children were learning. Where teachers showed no evidence of personal concern for the students and did not expect much from them, the children were learning little. Hence an important need is to help teachers understand and appreciate the potential of children from poverty and to enable them to give some personal attention, help and encouragement to their students. This will require substantial financial assistance for schools enrolling concentrations of disadvantaged children. Appropriate instructional procedures and materials are required but they will not substitute for teachers who care.

Improving Education for Citizenship

The American public has given strong support to a Back-to-Basics movement in which the Basics are usually defined very narrowly to include literacy and arithmetic. Yet, the vast majority of American children are not illiterate. The National Assessment of Educational Progress reports that more than 80% of 17-year-old youth can comprehend the reading materials commonly used by adults. In arithmetic, more than 90% can add, subtract, multiply and divide accurately with whole numbers although less than half that proportion are able to use their

computations properly in solving the problems adults commonly encounter in making purchases, figuring tax liabilities, and the like.

In the International Evaluation of Educational Achievement, the average test score in reading comprehension of American 14-year-old children was exceeded only by those of Finland and New Zealand, small countries with a relatively homogeneous population. The problems of student learning in reading and arithmetic are serious only with a small fraction of American children, mostly those who are economically and socially disadvantaged. Where American students are more widely lacking is in civic education.

In the International Evaluation of Educational Achievement, the average score of American 17-year-olds placed them in the lowest third of the thirteen advanced nations involved in the comparisons. A majority of the American youth did not appear to understand the basic functions of a political system and an economic system and did not seem to comprehend how our systems work. Only a bare majority expressed a belief in the principles that are so explicitly safeguarded in the Bill of Rights and only a minority report participating in civic activities. The emphasis in the past 25 years on the rights of American citizens has obscured the importance of the balancing responsibilities that our forefathers recognized in the design of our nation. The need to strengthen and improve the education essential for the development of constructive citizenship is now clearly obvious.

Developing good citizenship is not a simple matter. It involves acquiring knowledge, judgment, respect for others and concern for the common welfare. Young people need opportunities to practice good citizenship in the school and in the large community. They need to reflect upon their experiences and seek to understand the reasons for both their successes and failures as they carry on civic activities and practices. The school can make an important contribution to citizenship education, but the home and community experiences are crucial in the development of young people to assume their civic responsibilities.

The role of the school is a difficult one for several reasons. First, it is a new task. In the past, the school was one of several major institutions that supported and reinforced the dominant civic and ethical values of the community, but it did its part without conscious recognition that it was playing a significant role in the development of citizenship and character. The unconscious contributions consisted largely in providing in the school the kind of environment that was afforded by the typical home from which the students came. For his well-known readers, McGuffey chose stories and essays that reflected the currently accepted values. Most teachers and administrators, however, were not aware of any educational objectives other than the development of reading skills and the broadening of the students' horizons as they comprehended the ideas presented in the stories and essays. Now, it is necessary for the school to reexamine the contemporary conditions, to identify the contributions that it is capable of making, and to encourage and support the efforts of other community institutions that have a part to play.

Second, it is difficult for the school to deal with citizenship education because the public school cannot be the chief contributor to such education and it cannot effectively dominate the coalition of community groups that must work out a feasible program of mutual responsibility. The school has had little practice in planning and implementing roles in which it is the junior partner.

Third, it is difficult because it requires the school to keep closely in touch with the out-of-school experiences of its students in order to focus on the real citizenship and moral situations these children are confronting. Simulated and contrived situations are not alone sufficient for the student to comprehend the dilemmas that tempt and disturb adult citizens, and they do not furnish the experiences of suffering or enjoying the consequences of action the student chooses in response to these dilemmas.

Effective citizenship education does pose some very difficult problems. Nevertheless, there are contributions the school can make. For example, the school can act in harmony with its traditional role of developing cognitive abilities and habits and encourage students to reflect upon the problem situations they encounter so as to analyze them and foresee consequences of the possible responses. Furthermore, the contributions of literature and drama that characterized education in the past are possible today. Stories, drama, novels, essays, and poetry can illuminate ethical issues and help students to understand and feel the significance of courage in acting in accordance with conscience.

The school can also continue its long-accepted role of providing within its environment a more ideal democratic society than the adult community has yet been able to achieve.

The school has an important part to play in citizenship education but without a comprehensive community program, many young people will not develop into thoughtful and helpful citizens. The Federal Government can encourage citizenship education by supporting outstanding demonstrations of programs in which the school and the other major community institutions work closely together in furnishing opportunities for students to participate in civic affairs, bearing increasingly significant responsibilities as they grow and mature. A community advisory group should be involved to identify needs for learning experiences not previously available and to encourage appropriate institutions and organizations to provide these opportunities for learning. Enough is now known about the processes of citizenship development to guide community efforts, but what is lacking is the actual cooperative participation of homes, schools and other socially-oriented organizations in the local community to provide the range of opportunities for youth to participate and learn. There is enough public sentiment favoring a strong thrust to improve citizenship education to assure a wide adoption of programs that are successful and appear feasible.

Improving The Transition from School to Adult Life

Concern for young people making the transition from adolescence to adulthood in the United States has increased over the past ten years. Opportunities for gradually assuming adult responsibilities, for participating with adults in a manner that engenders confidence in the ability of the young to take on adult roles, and for rendering meaningful service to others appear, it would seem, to be diminishing. Reports on these problems have been published by several different organizations but there has been no comprehensive outline of the educational issues involved, nor least of all have there been coordinated efforts by local communities to provide for a smooth transition. A particularly critical problem is the transition from school to work.

I do not need to repeat here what has been presented to the Congress in great detail in connection with the debate on the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. Often the high rate of youth unemployment is viewed as the result of the failure of vocational education in the public schools. Several commissions, advisory councils and consultants have proposed steps to improve vocational education. These are helpful, but the problem of developing an orderly and constructive transition from school to work is not just a problem of improving education. Somewhere between 20% and 30% of American youth never gain employment that can be considered a career. These young persons typically pass through a cycle of unemployment and employment in marginal dead-end jobs, like washing dishes and parking cars.

They may work for several weeks or months, then are unemployed for a time. When they get a job again, it has no more future than the first one.

This problem cannot be solved at the national level although the Federal Government can help. The decision of employers to restructure jobs, either within their own company or in cooperation with other companies, so that initial employment can lead sequentially to more responsible and demanding work must be made where the jobs are and where the young people are. The development of an appropriate educational and guidance program related to these job opportunities, including work-study, and other means of close interrelation between school and work must be jointly worked out at the local level where the young people, the schools and the jobs are. No simple pattern will be adequate for the widely varying conditions of work, of schooling, and of living that characterize American society. But the Federal Government can give visibility to the need, can furnish financial incentives, and can support research and demonstrations required to perfect local programs.

The movement from school to work is not the only difficult transition for adolescents today. As children they have generally been the recipients of affection, psychological and social support and material goods - food, clothing and shelter. As adults they will be expected to give as well as receive, to serve others in the family and the neighborhood, to help in voluntary services of various sorts. The contemporary environment furnishes too few opportunities for young people to participate in society

in these ways and to gain the satisfactions of mature responsibilities and services.

This situation has been so widely recognized that a variety of programs are developing in hundreds of communities. As a response to this need, the National Commission on Resources for Youth has identified more than a thousand programs in high schools in which students participate in constructive adult activities and assume real responsibility for what they do. Because the programs involve out-of-school activities and require cooperation with public and non-profit organizations they have not been part of the curriculum in most high schools and middle schools. The Commission seeks to inform schools and community leaders generally about the potential educational value of such programs and put them in touch with localities that have worked out effective cooperation.

As with programs for easing the transition from school to work a single national model is not possible. But in this area too, the Federal Government can give visibility to the need and can support research and demonstrations of possible kinds of developments. The Federal Government can also assist in supporting local explorations of possibilities and the start-up costs of working out a program through to its operational stage.

Reconstructing the Out-of-School Learning Environment

Perhaps the greatest need of elementary and secondary education in America is to rebuild the out-of-school environment which is so essential to the adequate development of children and youth. It seems incredible to many educational leaders that the public would give so little attention to the recent rapid erosion of the opportunities for out-of-school learning which most of us utilized in our own development. It takes only a casual review of one's own youth to see that the school was only a part of the educational system that furnished the experiences through which one learned to participate constructively in our modern industrialized society. What one experienced in the home, in the social activities in the community, in one's chores and jobs, in religious institutions, in reading, in listening to radio and viewing television, and in the school - all are parts of the educational system through which one acquired knowledge and ideas, skills and habits, attitudes and interests and basic values. The school furnishes opportunities to learn to read, write and compute and to discover and use facts, principles, and ideas that are more accurate, balanced and comprehensive than that provided in most homes, work places, or other social institutions. The school also supplements and complements learning furnished by the other institutions and is usually an environment that represents the American social ideals more nearly than the larger society. In most schools, each student is respected as a human being without discrimination. The transactions in the classroom are guided by an attempt to be fair and to dispense justice, and the class morale is a reflection of the fact that the members care about the welfare of others.

The school has an important role to play in the education of children and youth, but it is only a part of the system and most of us learned more in the home and the other institutions of the community than we did in the school. Now the educational activities of the home, the religious institutions, the youth serving agencies, and the neighborhood gatherings are greatly changed. For example, as late as 1960, only 26% of the mothers of school-age children were in the labor force. Now more than 55% are employed outside the home. In most of these homes no adequate provision has been made for the supervision of children when school is out and the parents are at work. Only the school is maintaining approximately the same role as in earlier periods with the same amount of time annually for its work with children and youth. The time no longer occupied by the other activities has largely been taken up by television. Schramm and Parker report that the average American child between the ages of 10 and 14 spends about 1500 hours per year viewing television and only about 1100 hours per year in school. When the educational expectations of the public are not realized in the performance of youth, common opinion holds that the schools have failed, ignoring the erosion of the non-school part of the educational system.

The increasing educational requirements for persons living in our complex society cannot be met without rebuilding the total educational environment for children and youth. Fortunately, most if not all local communities include a considerable proportion of persons who care about the future of our society and the education of our children. Provided with information

about the local situation, these people can be mobilized to help in the rebuilding of the total educational system. This does not imply or require public operation and support of all out-of-school educational experiences. The American public is not likely to vote the taxes required to furnish professionals to guide the education of children and youth in the many hours when they are not in school. Furthermore, a monolithic structure of the total educational system is inappropriate for a democratic nation, particularly a multicultural one. Volunteer leaders can be secured, as has been demonstrated by out-of-school educational organizations like the 4H Clubs, the Scouts, and the Junior Achievement Program.

Several surveys indicate that a large number of persons with knowledge and skills would like to teach them as a public service without remuneration. The strength and vitality of voluntary organizations have been frequently noted by foreign visitors. What is missing is the comprehensive identification of needs and authorized encouragement of those who could meet the needs. These can be stimulated, encouraged and supported by government.

At the national level, the Congress can adopt a resolution endorsing comprehensive educational programs that include out-of-school opportunities for learning, and stating a national policy to encourage the full development of human resources through comprehensive educational experiences. The Federal Government should authorize support for and appropriate funds to encourage and assist the establishment of community councils and metropolitan or regional task forces to help in developing and maintaining

comprehensive educational systems including both schools and voluntary groups.

The role of the community council is to assess educational needs of various groups of children in the community, identify actual and potential resources to help meet these needs, and suggest an outline of educational programs that volunteer groups are to be encouraged to develop. Some educational task forces must be drawn from the larger metropolitan area or region for educational needs that cannot be met locally.

In Summary

The most pressing needs of elementary and secondary education for the 1980's are likely to be in four areas. Federal assistance will still be necessary to furnish real educational opportunity for disadvantaged children. Federal encouragement and support is needed to reverse the neglect of citizenship education. The transition of children and youth into constructive and responsible adult life needs to be much smoother and the Federal Government can help localities to act. Finally, the serious erosion of out-of-school educational opportunities can be stopped and the educational system rebuilt with strong encouragement and support from the Federal Government.

DECISION-MAKING AND THE SCHOOLS IN THE 1980's

By
Richard W. Warner, Jr.
School of Education
Auburn University
Auburn, AL 36830

Forecasting at best is a very risky enterprise regardless of what one is trying to predict, be it tomorrow's weather or the future of education in the 1980's. In a world in which we all find ourselves, the only really safe prediction is that the future will be quite different from either the present or the past. There should be no need to document for anyone the rapidity of change in all areas of our lives nor the fact that the rate of change is exponential rather than at a constant rate. Our educational system from preschool to graduate school, however, continues to operate much as it did in the early 1900's. While there have been some changes, they have generally been superficial and cosmetic. Yet, it is increasingly apparent to educators and the public at large that our educational system is not operating very satisfactorily in our technological world. The American educational system is under attack from all sides. The back to basics movement, the minimum competency testing movement, the teacher competency testing movement are all elements that reflect the general lack of confidence in our educational system. While the purpose of this paper is not to dwell on either the past or the present, it is important that we understand what has created the current crisis in American education because it is related to what may happen in the future.

The public's current reaction to public education in this country is not unlike the young boy who suddenly finds that his father is not able to do all things perfectly. Somehow over the years a mystique developed around schools such that they were seen as the means of guaranteeing to each individual personal

and financial success. As Hoppe (1978) states, the view held of schools in this country is that "they must be stalwart and stable, committed to the highest ideals, teach all the basics and a great deal more to learners of all ages, attempt to correct all the social ills, and do it all at a modest cost" (p.1). The expectations reflected in Hoppe's statement have also been reflected in legislative and court actions that have occurred over the last 25 years.

In 1954, the courts began a series of rulings on individual civil rights which placed demands on schools to become a means of eliminating racial discrimination. More recently, the schools have been given major responsibilities for removing sex bias in society, for removing biases due to national origin, and for providing educational opportunities for all, regardless of their physical or mental status. Thus, schools are seen as powerful and important social institutions. The public and government have high expectations of them. (Blackburn, Walden, Warner, 1979, p. 27)

Thus, as a result of court rulings and legislation, the mission of public education in this country has changed from a rather simplistic expectation that the schools would produce people who could read, write, and figure to an expectation that the schools will produce a fully polished adult who understands all and can do all. Educators themselves cannot escape some responsibility for this phenomena. "We did not really object when we were told that public education could guarantee democracy, promote brotherly love, and give us a generation of well-adjusted citizens. We not only failed to voice any reservations, we appropriated such claims and used them in well-intentional campaigns for better funding" (Keller, 1978, p. 14-15). All of these forces have led to a situation where the expectations we all have for the schools go far beyond their capacity to produce. As the old saying goes, when one tries to be a jack of all trades, he generally ends up being master of none. It appears that this is one of the things that has happened to our educational system. In attempting to do so much, it has come to the point where it cannot do any of it very well.

Related to the changing demands placed on American public education is the changing school population. When public education was first conceived of in this country, there was no expectation that all young people would stay in school through a minimum of twelve grades. Yet, the common expectation in today's society is that students will complete a minimum of twelve years of public education, and that is rapidly changing to a minimum of fourteen years with the extension of the two-year/community college and technical school concept across this country. While there is no debate that our technological society does require increased levels of education of its people, one can seriously question whether the level of education being currently required is really commensurate with the knowledge required to do certain jobs. Validity studies of such requirements typically demonstrate that there is little relationship between such requirements and job success.

The history of the schools' attempts to deal with increased expectations and changing populations has been to try a variety of new methods, approaches and programs. We have tried all kinds of approaches to teaching reading, we have tried modern math, career education, affective career, values education, and on and on. Most of these approaches, methods, and/or programs were initiated with the support of federal dollars, and while that is not necessarily inappropriate, the position taken here is that the manner in which the funds were authorized and appropriated have caused far more problems than they were designed to cure.

Typical of the preceding, for example, was our rush to produce more mathematicians and scientists right after Russia sent up Sputnik. This effort produced the new math, new physics, new chemistry, new biology, etc., all or most of which have now been discarded. It also produced a generation of high school counselors and gave schools money to hire those counselors, but neither

the counselors themselves nor the schools knew for what reason they were there. Currently, we are rushing "back to the basics" and to minimum competency testing. And no one really knows what either of these terms really means nor what their implications are for our educational system, but we are going ahead anyway. If these were isolated examples, the situation would not be near as critical. Unfortunately, they reflect our usual way of initiating new programs within the American educational system. Someone gets excited about something and before we recognize what is happening we are operating a brand new program. These programs are all well intended and are most often generated to meet real needs, but the problem is they are neither well thought out, planned, and/or evaluated once they have been implemented. This lack of a systematic approach to program planning and monitoring dooms most programs before they begin.

Another aspect of program planning in the American educational system which leads to ultimate failure is the fact that programs are developed in ways which leads to the notion that there is something to be added to the regular ongoing program of the schools rather than being integrated into the existing program. This is exactly what has happened to programs like affective, career, and values education. The goal of affective education was to help young people develop an awareness of the importance of feelings and emotions. Yet, feelings and emotions do not occur in the abstract; they occur in relation to some content, event, or fact. We, however, attempted to teach them in the abstract as though they had no relation to subject matter. The same pattern has been true of the career education movement. Career Education is now mandated in many states, such as Georgia, as a separate subject. The intent of the developers of career education was never that it be a separate subject, but rather the concept was to be integrated into the existing program such that

students saw subject matter as preparation for a life-long career. While the development of this kind of "added on" thinking is often a result of administrative planning which does not involve the classroom teacher, it is more often a result of the way in which the regulations governing the use of the money were written. The federal regulations themselves often created the need for those programs to be discrete entities rather than integrated into ongoing programs. It is a classic example of the bureaucracy feeding upon itself in creating more bureaucracy. Unfortunately, it is the classroom teacher who must implement these programs and from their viewpoint they are being asked to do more and more in shorter and shorter spans of time.

These factors, as well as others, have brought our educational system to the brink of a new decade in a state of disarray. Public confidence is at a low ebb and even the confidence of educators is wavering. Most recognize that they cannot possibly do all that they have promised or been expected to do. The easy route at this point is to say we must go "back to the basics". We should return to doing what schools did pretty well up to World War II. That may appear to be the easy route and is the route being suggested by many individuals, but it is neither easy or the correct route. The pre-World War II basics were fine for pre-World War II times, but the times have changed. If our educational system is to survive, it cannot look back but must look ahead. Our educational leaders and legislators must do so with far more vision and with far more systematic planning than has ever occurred. As Toffler (1974) suggests, all of us involved with our educational system have been like the elders of a tribe living on a river bank who don't recognize that their lives will be changed by the new dam being constructed across the river. They, therefore, continue to teach their young the same old things in much the same old way. We have failed to recognize

that the rapidity of change in all areas of our lives means that the future is going to be very different from the present. Yet, as educators we have never really tried to anticipate what the future might look like and what implications it might have for education. "And so, most schools, colleges and universities base their teaching on the usually tacit notion that tomorrow's world will be basically familiar" (Toffler, 1974, p. 5). Thus, a return to the basics is not a reasonable answer to the problems facing American education. A return to the basics without a systematic attempt at evaluating and predicting what the future has in store will be a waste of human and financial resources, a waste we can ill afford.

It is this writer's view that if we are to be successful in dealing with the problems confronting American education we must be far different from Toffler's tribe. We must clearly and decisively address three basic areas: The problem of change in our society; the problem of goal setting; and the problem of systematic planning and evaluating.

The first problem relates to our ability to prioritize goals. As Keller (1978) suggests, we must promise not to continue promising. The point is that American education can no longer promise to do everything for everybody. We must seriously question such sacred cows as whether twelve years of public school education should be a requirement or is even desirable for all individuals. Is it possible that for many individuals an education firmly grounded in the basics is the education that is necessary for a successful and meaningful life? Such a suggestion is often met with disdain in this country because somehow the amount of formal education completed by an individual is tied with social standing. Such should not and need not be the case if we are willing to accept the fact that education is not the panacea for everyone. If we could free ourselves from that one basic assumption, schools might be free to truly examine their current

operations and to develop meaningful goals and objectives for the future; goals and objectives that are realistic, desirable, and, most importantly, implementable. Such an examination will mean, very probably, that many responsibilities currently assigned to the schools will be assigned elsewhere. It is also possible that the population of the school will change drastically. It may be that some individuals will go to public school for nine years and then to work for a few years and then back to school for a few more years. The point of this speculation is that, if we are to truly plan for the 1980's and beyond, we must begin by giving up some of our sacred cows; give them up at least to the point that we are willing to clearly examine the implications they have for education. It may well be that in the freeing up process we will clearly decide that the sacred cow is a sacred cow, but without such an examination we will never really know.

Given this careful assessment of goals and objectives for American education, the second problem becomes easier to handle. If our educational systems can develop a clear set of goals and objectives, the next step of developing clear, systematic plans for implementation and evaluation of programs once they have been implemented is a next natural step. It is this writer's belief that the amount of money being appropriated for education in today's world is probably sufficient to do the job if we could avoid duplication and unjustified expenses. Because programs are implemented without prior planning and because programs are allowed to operate without careful and systematic evaluation of their impact on the recipients of such programs, we have no clear notion of how cost effective any program really is in this country. I am not arguing that everything in the name of education in this country must pass the scrutiny of cost benefit analysis, because I firmly believe that there are intangibles

that take place in our educational system which are not subject to cost analysis. I do believe, however, that the American public has a right to expect a greater return for their dollar, and our inability to give that return is directly related to our inability to ascertain what works for whom and under what circumstances. What this position calls for is not only a greater commitment to systematic planning and evaluation, but of the development of far more sophisticated means of examining what it is we do in the name of education.

As stated in the beginning of this paper, the one thing that we can be certain about as we look down the road is that education in the 1980's must be far different than education in the 1970's. Any futurist scholar will indicate how difficult it is to predict the exact form and substance of the future, but we do know that individuals existing in that future will be subject to a rate of change that continues to be exponential. Thus, it is clear that a top priority of education, if it is to be truly meaningful, must be to prepare individuals with the ability to deal with change and uncertainty. While some critics of the current educational system in this country believe that the most serious deficiency in the schools today is their failure to teach everybody to read, write, and to figure, it is this writer's view that the most serious deficiency is the inability of the school system to teach people how to deal with change through sound decision-making practices. I firmly believe that it is critical that American public education change its form such that individuals going through the system are required to make decisions that affect their lives.

Individuals proceeding through our current educational system are not only not taught how to make decisions, the system discourages the practice. While one might argue that there are few educational decisions that an elementary school youngster could make, that same argument cannot legitimately be used

for middle, junior and senior high school students. Yet, if one examines the types of decisions that individuals are allowed to make as they mature toward adulthood, it becomes very clear as to why individuals who reach the age of 18 are not able to make very sound decisions. As educators we tell young people what they must study, when they must study, how they must study, and with whom they must study. We also tell them what things they can participate in, what things they cannot participate in, what they can eat, what they can wear and not wear, etc., etc. The entire system is designed to protect people from making decisions that we (assuming some master knowledge) believe will hurt them. Yet, if someone is to learn the importance of decision making, is there any better way than to let them experience the process of making both good and erroneous decisions? I am not arguing that we must let students make decisions that would be tragic, but I do believe that we can permit them to make decisions commensurate with their ability to do so. How else can we expect someone to leave the educational system and suddenly be able to make decisions that society then requires of them? It is my contention that there is no more critical issue facing education in the 1980's. Schools and society in general must respond to the needs of individuals to be able to deal effectively with change through sound decision-making principles.

In summary, we cannot and must not move into the decade of the 1980's by seeking to recapture the success of the past. Those responsible for American education must look forward. They must develop the capacity for prioritizing goals and evaluating outcomes. Most importantly, the system must develop the means for helping individuals deal with an ever-changing and uncertain world. Only people with the capacity to make sound decisions will be able to cope with such a world.

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LET'S BUILD ON THE STRENGTHS OF OUR COMPREHENSIVE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM:

A Recommendation to Educational Policy Makers

By Roger Farr

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Roger Farr is Professor of Education and Director of the Henry Lester Smith Center for Research in Education, School of Education, Indiana University, and President of the International Reading Association (1979-80). This manuscript was prepared in response to an invitation by Congressman Carl D. Perkins, Chairman of the U.S. Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, to explore the needs of elementary and secondary education in the 1980's.

Introduction

One of the advantages of a democratic society is that it promotes continual public scrutiny of its public schools and allows for citizen participation in changing the educational system. It is ironic, therefore, that this process now threatens to lead us to abandon the basic goal that our public education system was created to achieve: the promotion of democracy itself. My primary recommendation to Federal legislators who would build a background for educational action in the 1980's is that they begin by reaffirming this historic goal.

Reaffirmation would involve 1) reviewing the egalitarian goal itself, 2) recognizing necessary educational objectives that derive from it, 3) acknowledging what progress we have made in reaching these objectives, 4) examining the current trends which contradict the goal and its inherent objectives, and 5) analyzing the rationale which makes these trends appear acceptable.

It is my hope that this procedure would lead Federal policy makers to reaffirm our educational objectives, to structure Federal policy on an assessment of how far we have yet to go to achieve them, and to commit the Federal government to the kind of research which will determine the most effective ways to get there.

Reaffirming an Historic Purpose

1. Jefferson's Goal for Education

A recent article by R. Freeman Butts reviews how our public schools were established as a political investment in the future of democracy.¹ In revising the laws of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson "...proposed a system of public schools, governed by public officials and supported by public funds, to overcome the political inequities and privileges inherent in private education." (Butts, 1979, p.7) It was Jefferson's contention that

1. Educational Vouchers: The Private Pursuit of the Public Purses. Phi Delta Kappan (61/1), September 1976, 7-9.

public schools would help break down family, class, and economic privileges and help guarantee that each citizen would have an opportunity to develop his or her potential. Thus, Jefferson believed, would not only promote democracy, but would also create an alert citizenry eager to sustain democracy.

As Butts notes, this principle gained its national acceptance state by state, and our commitment to it remains in the state constitutions. Yet as Federal funds have financed an increasing percentage of public school operation and educational development, these funds have been allocated with stringent stipulations that they be spent in a manner that helps eliminate inequalities in educational opportunity. The Federal government has sometimes found it necessary to exercise this control defensively--by withholding funds from states and cities where there is disparity in the quality of educational opportunity. This fact demonstrates that we have not yet effected fully equal opportunity in education--even within local systems; but it also indicates that the Jeffersonian goal for education is Federal as well as state policy.

2. Recognizing Objectives Inherent in the Goal

I believe that two objectives can be logically deduced from our goal of democratizing America by creating equal educational opportunity for all our citizens: 1) As there is no one curriculum that can fit every individual, we have pursued an objective of building diversity into our educational programs. This objective has tried to meet the diverse needs, abilities, talents, and interests of our citizens at all economic levels in all geographic regions. 2) At the same time, we have been committed to developing each citizen's potential into as viable a commodity in modern society as possible so that both the society and the individual can achieve success. Thus our goal to provide equality in public education has been bound to an objective which would provide quality education at the same time.²

2. I am obligated to note that Butts' article indicates he would not agree that meeting individual needs or interests or preparing citizens to succeed in jobs can be deduced from Jefferson's political purpose in proposing public education.

3. Acknowledging the Progress We Have Made

The goal of democratizing our society by attempting to guarantee everyone quality education has developed slowly but continuously in our nation. And much of our progress has been relatively recent. In a powerful argument for what our schools have accomplished, Harold Hodgkinson³ writes that in the past 30 years, we have done for over 75 percent of our students in elementary and secondary grades what we were expected to do for a fourth of them in 1950--get them prepared for the higher education they seek. He points out that this has drastically broadened the group of students taking college entrance exams and that although we might have expected a very dramatic drop in the scores on such exams, the scores have actually fallen off by only a few questions.

Although Hodgkinson's point is an effective response to critics who cite declines on college entrance exams as an argument that our schools have failed, it does not point out that our comprehensive, public schools have been intended to serve the non-college-bound student as well. In arguing that we are beset with "compelling problems that must be solved if free public education is to survive," Virginia Sparling, president of the national PTA, recently acknowledged that "U.S. schools educate more people to a higher level than any other nation. ..." ⁴ If literacy is defined in terms of very basic competency, we have achieved nearly total national literacy for all citizens who are not physically or psychologically handicapped to degrees that make them ineducable. ⁵ Understandably, this is not yet adequate. Even if the literacy necessary to function effectively in society did not change as society develops, we would be eager to educate our citizens to much higher levels of literacy. This

3. What's Right with Education. Phi Delta Kappan (61/3), November, 1979, 159-162.

4. Kids, Teachers, and Parents: "Give Us Better Schools." U.S. News and World Report, (67/11), September 10, 1979, 31.

5. For a book-length analysis of literacy in the United States, see Cook, Wanda Rankess. Adult Literacy Education in the United States. Newark, Del.: International Reading Association, 1977.

ambition explains some of the criticism that prods our educational system to develop more effective methods, materials, and teachers.

Our intense concern over education in the U.S. has, when coupled with its democratizing purpose, guided our comprehensive system to the position of world leadership that Sparling noted. That success has led other nations to turn to it as a model. Yet, even in the face of this external recognition, internal public expectancies, criticism from both our educational and lay communities, and media focus on the negative are promoting educational trends which threaten the very existence of our comprehensive public schools by locking us in on a course that would abandon Jefferson's goal.

As Daniel Tanner notes in a recent article,⁶

It is ironic that in the 1970s various American commissions and panels advocated that we abandon the American invention of comprehensive schooling at a time when advanced nations, after a long and continuing effort toward educational reform, are beginning to make significant progress toward instituting this model....This movement reflected the need for a more highly educated populace to meet the industrial and technical demands of post-war development and "also as a means toward social and political justice in terms of social mobility and economic quality."⁷

It appears that the critical concern that may lead us to toss the baby out with the bath water has not clouded the objective perspective of nations such as Sweden and Great Britain, which see the best students in the U.S. performing at least on a par

6. Splitting Up the School System: Are Comprehensive High Schools Doomed? Phi Delta Kappan, (61/2), October, 1979, 94.

7. The internal quotation is cited from "The International Context." In Caroline Benn and S. Simon, Half Way There: Report on the British Comprehensive School Reform. London: McGraw-Hill, 1970, p. 1.

with their own⁸ and who note the rest of our citizenship being better prepared for the technological age by our comprehensive schools than their citizens are prepared by their elitist, separatist educational systems. Their observation is verified, for example, by the number of U.S. citizens who have won Nobel prizes in science the past 20 years. Seventy-three have gone to Americans. The country that is closest to that distinction is Great Britain with 22.⁹

4. Examining Some Threatening Trends

It is my contention--as well as that of many others who preface their understanding of education on its Jeffersonian mission--that some of the prevalent educational trends and forces are anti-egalitarian and could lead us to abandon our historic educational goal.

Minimum Competency Testing. Foremost of such movements is the national sweep to minimum competency testing legislated at the state levels--and in some states at the local level. In a matter of only a very few years, minimum competency testing has been adopted in some form in nearly every state. The stated purpose of such tests is to hold students responsible for the content the test covers before promotion or graduation is granted. An accompanying purpose is to guarantee that teachers will teach what the test measures.

The major threat of minimum competency is its tendency to force low achievers out of our schools, returning us to the days when a majority of students quit school before graduation. One of the very valid educational problems that has been a traditional concern has been the number of students who quit our schools. Although school dropout has been dramatically reduced, it is still as high as 25 percent before

8. Wolf, Richard M. Achievement in America: national report of the United States for the International Educational Achievement Project. New York, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1977.

9. "U.S. scientists' hold on Nobel prizes seems likely to loosen soon." The [Louisville] Courier-Journal, Oct. 31, 1979, p. A11.

the completion of grade 12. I argue that in the light of our continually improved ability to keep students in school, our present dropout rate is still much too high, but it is not a "national disgrace" as a former U.S. Commissioner of Education recently contended.¹⁰ The fact that we have kept more and more children in school should be viewed as an accomplishment, as should the fact that in the past 20 years the percentage of students who seek higher education has tripled. By studying such trends, we should be able to determine how we can more fully democratize the high school diploma. What could become a national disgrace is the growing tendency to judge academic success by a narrowing, academy-approved content and to fail all those students who will not or cannot master such a curriculum. The impact of rigid adherence to minimum competency testing can only be to frustrate many more students into quitting school.

The meritocracy resulting from minimum competency reflects the recommendations of several national panels in recent years, which as Tanner noted, have suggested that comprehensive education of all citizens is a mistake. In 1969, the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education advised against encouraging broad segments of society to seek college education. In 1971, the U.S. Commissioner of Education proposed work experience to promote career choice in the very first years of education. In 1976, the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education appropriately called for more awareness of society's educational responsibilities outside of schools, but it did so with the rationale that providing equal opportunities inside the school is an unreasonable burden. Contrast this Federal impetus with Jefferson's proposal for schools as a vital social equalizer.

Clearly, the impact of minimum competency testing is to veer our educational system away from its dual commitment to equality and quality in education. Minimum competency testing will foster quality education for only students of higher intellectual capacity. And even that capacity will be measured by a very narrow content. The

10. Kids, Teachers, and Parents: "Give Us Better Schools." U.S. News and World
Report, 107(11), September 10, 1979, 31.

result will bring some financial relief from the responsibility of educating all our citizens; but our schools will no longer be tools to prepare and mold our citizens into a stronger nation. Rather it will separate them into educated intellectual elites on the one hand and those who have been rejected by the schools as failures on the other.

The Voucher System. Separation by meritocracy is complemented by another educational trend--the voucher system--which promises to base an elitist system on the very social and economic determiners that Jefferson saw as threats to democracy. Briefly, the voucher system proposes to allow parents to use public money to send their children to any school they chose. By applying their vouchers along with personal funds, more affluent families can afford private schools; less affluent families will need to rely on a severely diminished, fund-starved public system. Whereas some private schools appropriately exist on private funds because they emphasize particular educational theories and methods, the voucher system will allow parents to bypass racial integration and/or select their schools on purely elitist principles.

Proposition 13. In California, where the voucher system stands its best chance for early acceptance, tax revolts have already cut educational expenditures. The result is that public schools face an austerity similar to that which they could experience under a voucher system. Increased class size and the elimination of special programs destroy a school's ability to deal with diverse needs, and while the more capable student may have the native resources to survive with less loss of intellectual development, the less capable students--and particularly the intellectually handicapped--are stripped of the attention needed to provide them with the educational opportunity to develop what potential they have.

It is no coincidence that such tax cuts have spurred the formation of private schools in California, promising to encourage schools whose enrollments are determined by elitist, socioeconomic factors. Nor is it coincidental that California is the hot bed of the movement to legislate the voucher system, which would financially weaken the comprehensive educational system.

"Back to Basics." I believe that the "back-to-basics" movement in education in the United States is closely linked to both the trend to minimum competency testing and movements that would strip public schools of public funds.

The relation of the "back-to-basics" movement to minimum competency testing stems from an important limitation inherent in testing. In reading, for example, testing cannot measure readership, which is the life activity that instruction should develop. Readership involves the life habit that develops when the reader synthesizes what he or she reads into a structure of life concepts and values. A student develops readership during and following this synthesis; he or she acts on what is read and consequently understands how being able to read is a viable and essential life skill. Jefferson understood this, or he would not have proposed that education would carry over into citizenship. Test makers understand it too, but they have not yet devised a means of measuring how individuals comprehend a passage by synthesizing it into their individual structures of concepts; nor can test makers follow the reader about, measuring how he or she uses what is understood in a passage.

What tests measure is often much more concrete. In reading, too many tests measure factored subskills isolated from the child's experience. If such tests are adopted as the determiner of student success, the isolated subskills become the emphasis of the curriculum. Knowing that the student's promotion or graduation will depend on his or her score on a test, the teacher will teach to it, emphasizing the artificially factored skills it measures. Knowing that the test does not measure how much of a reader the student actually is, for example, the teacher will tend not to

develop readership because it is not something the test will hold the teacher accountable for.

Since the "back-to-basics" movement is often articulated in factored skills that can be defined for accountability, its proponents welcome competency exams that tend to reflect this emphasis. Thus both trends can reinforce each other and promote the development of lower level thinking skills at the expense of the higher level skills measured on college entrance exams. This is ironic, for it is the score decline on such tests that proponents of minimum competency and "back-to-basics" have adopted as their prime rationale.

The "back-to-basics" movement would assure that educators emphasize particular skills. I believe that such control of the curriculum will seriously hamstring the ability of the schools to meet the diverse needs of students and that those whose diverse needs are ignored will fall behind and by the wayside as they lose interest, fail to learn, and fail competency tests. In this way, the "back-to-basics" movement endorses schools based on a meritocracy.

Many proponents of the "back-to-basics" movement boldly admit that they endorse rigidly controlled content in order to guarantee the teaching of values they believe are basic, traditional, and valid. This is the position of the Council for Basic Education, and it is proudly purported by Paul Copperman, who calls himself the "intellectual leader of the back-to-basics movement." If such forces are allowed to exercise this form of censorship, they can limit school content to ideas that tend to be valid for a limited segment of our population. This would impair the ability of educators to teach to their students' particular backgrounds and interests. Most importantly, the control of content to instill approved value systems will open the door to indoctrination by any ideologists who gain control of the approval procedure. This potential of the "back-to-basics" movement to limit the content of curricula links it to trends that would strip our comprehensive educational system of funds and would promote an elitist system where parents could reward an indoctrinating curriculum with public money.

How affirmation assumes defensive funding. Even though the trends reviewed briefly above gain their endorsement at state and local levels, I believe it is essential that Federal policy makers understand the counter relevance of these trends to our dual national commitment to equality and quality in education. The Federal government must always effect its impact on our educational system through state and local entities, and just as it has had to protect equal educational opportunities from the effects of racial segregation and other biases, I believe it must guard against interests that would lead to the abandonment of our comprehensive schools. An affirmation of the democratizing purpose of education assumes that Federal support to the development of educational change will promote the attainment of that goal.

5. Analyzing the Rationales Behind the Threatening Trends

The key support for all of the trends described briefly above comes from declines reported on nationally administered tests. In general, the current application of such statistics to the evaluation of our schools has been careless at best and irresponsible at worst. The flagrant misuse of these data in the national evaluation of our schools has been fraught with the following illogical and unscientific practices:

- a. Declines on some measures have dominated the rationale for drastic educational change whereas score comparisons from other tests which show no decline have been relatively ignored. There has, for example, been agonizing over score declines on college entrance exams, such as the Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT); yet, the fact that students have held their own on a battery of achievement tests designed by the same agency that produces the SAT has gone virtually unnoticed.
- b. Score comparisons from other studies demonstrate pupil improvement mixed with very slight declines--depending on age levels and the skill or subskill measured. These include the most carefully conducted achievement comparisons

we have; yet the encouraging results of our National Assessment of Educational Progress in reading,¹¹ for example, have had very limited dissemination and exposure, as have other encouraging studies.¹²

- c. By ignoring some of the better data, the critical analyst often mixes and combines data in totally unacceptable ways. Aptitude scores (SAT) are combined with or accepted as achievement scores; scores from one test are compared to those from another which measures subskills with a totally different emphasis; scores from one population are compared to scores of a population from a significantly different socioeconomic environment; scores for age levels are compared to those for grade levels; comparisons are made with no consideration of changes in vital factors such as age differences, dropout rates, socioeconomic shifts, etc; declines on math scores are lumped with reading scores; etc.

Dependable product comparisons using student achievement scores are extremely difficult to obtain. We do not now have data that is even close to adequate to support or condemn our educational system or to reliably dictate sweeping educational changes; but a mega-analysis of the best we do have gives mixed indications at worst.

11. Reading in America: A Perspective of Two Assessments. Denver: the Assessment, Education Commission of the States, 1976.
12. Cook, W.C., Adult Literacy Education in the United States. Newark, Del.: International Reading Association, 1977.
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- d. The use of SAT score declines to promote minimum competency and emphasis of the "basics," is, as noted above, ironic. The test measures a very high level of literacy; it does not measure minimum competency in basic skills. Equally important, such tests measure only a portion of students in two grades; thus to use it to evaluate performance of all students in those grades is inappropriate. To use it to attack education across the board is an outrage we have somehow overlooked.
- e. As we rely on test scores to guide the current impetus for educational change, we remain relatively ignorant of the processes that actually educate. We need to focus on teacher behavior in research and development as well as in evaluation.

I believe that a large share of the responsibility for an emphasis on carelessly interpreted educational data lies with the media. In reporting on education, the media have given an almost singular emphasis to critics who make careless use of data. There are some understandable causes of this situation. One is the press' seeming conviction that bad news sells. Another is that to be able to present alert, informed coverage of test scores, for example, a reporter must have adequate knowledge of testing, the area tested, and statistics. This knowledge base covers numerous technical considerations. Since not even the television networks seem willing to approach education news with that special expertise, the media tends to take any data-based criticism of our schools as unchallengeable fact. The repetitive printing and airing of attacks on our schools has convinced the public that there are severe crises in education. Yet we simply do not have adequate data to support that alarm. If other educational areas are treated like reading, the media's careless use of data and the tendency to ignore encouraging information recommend a more objective public forum.

Recommendations

The consideration of current educational trends I have cited as threats and of the rationales that appear to support them recommends a Federal perspective that is somewhat defensive. Yet with this defensive reaffirmation of the democratizing purpose of education, the Federal government can do much to encourage educational change and development that can help us realize our dual commitment to quality and equality. I believe there are several general steps that Federal policy makers can follow to logically assure this:

1. First, the Federal Government can establish a system, procedure, or apparatus to continually re-evaluate educational needs. Such a procedure would need to probe the various aspects of contemporary citizenship to determine what kind of literacy and mathematical skills, for example, are basic to the success of society and the individual. It could determine how basic the development of critical thinking skills are to the sustenance of a democratic nation and what values relate to that objective. This would assure both that societal changes are defined for the consideration of educational change and that those changes would not abandon the principle of providing educational opportunity to all citizens.
2. With a continuously updated validity of needs as objectives, the Federal Government could promote careful assessment of what our schools have accomplished, are accomplishing, and must yet accomplish in order to meet those objectives. This would allow us to build on our strengths. The Federal Government could commission very carefully structured trend studies that would collect and create significant data, and which would make viable interpretations of that data to suggest possible conclusions about the status of education. Such studies must, of course, consider all relevant test, educational, and societal factors.

It is vital that this continual assessment of where we are consider process as well as product. As noted, the power of tests to reveal educational accomplishment is limited, and we know embarrassingly little about what actually is happening in the classroom. New research methodologies are developing to allow us to portray typical teacher behavior and professionalism, and the Federal Government should give heavy endorsement to this descriptive effort.

3. Coupled to a current description of a) where we need to go with education, b) how far along that path we are, and c) what we are now doing to close the gap, the Federal Government can encourage educational research and development to attempt to discover more effective methods and procedures to get there. We need extensive efforts to determine what methodologies are most effective in the classroom.

I believe this third and very vital phase of Federal involvement should place a heavy emphasis on research related to procedure as opposed to product. There has never been a pronounced Federal emphasis on improving teacher practices or teacher education. Thus the Federal Government should contribute to the improvement of teacher education by increasing its funding of experimental preservice and inservice training. I believe that the role of the teacher is the key to improved instruction. Yet the average elementary teacher will take less than one year of courses in professional education preparatory to beginning teaching and the secondary teacher will take less than a semester. There is no guarantee that any one course will deal with the best practices and methodologies.

Teacher education programs that incorporate a fifth year of intern teaching, or differentiated staffing, or increased field experiences in schools should be encouraged. In addition, government funds can be of vital assistance to school systems and education institutions in upgrading the preparation of teachers by promoting the development of better courses.

The Federal Government should encourage and fund additional educational research efforts that are directed toward the solution of known problem areas in education. For example, it is a well established fact that children from low socioeconomic backgrounds are more apt to experience reading difficulties than children from middle or high socioeconomic backgrounds. We need to continue to expend resources to develop reading methods, materials, and programs that can be used more effectively with such populations, taking account that children do not all have the same background of experiences and opportunities. Thus, a child from one locality can differ extensively from a child in another locality. Because of this, their needs--and consequently the appropriate instructional methodology and materials to be used--should differ.

In promoting such development, Federal incentives should encourage changes that more effectively link instruction within the school itself to the educational opportunities in and responsibilities of our society at large. This effort should not only make education more effective but should help educate the public that it is unwise to expect schools to accept sole responsibility for the intellectual and skill development of our children.

4. Finally, the Federal Government has the obligation to effectively disseminate the information it generates with public funds. This has not always been the case in the past. For example, the Federal Government cut funding of the National Assessment study to a point where the contractor has been unable to carry out effective dissemination of its findings.

If teachers, professional educators, parents, decision makers, and the public at large are to express their concern and have input into decisions affecting education, they need to exercise that input from a fully informed perspective.

EDUCATION IN THE '80'S: A LEADERSHIP
OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CONGRESS

By: Rev. Msgr. Paul F. Curran
Assistant Superintendent of
Catholic Schools
Archdiocese of Philadelphia

(110)

The dominant mood of the 70's in American education has been a sense of helplessness about the future. It seems at times that the more we spend, the less we accomplish; rising per-pupil expenditures are matched by plummeting test scores. And yet the recent visit of Pope John Paul II to our shores seems to demonstrate that individuals - and institutions - who know what they are about and where they are headed produce a contagious hopefulness in others. Certainly sense of purpose and hopefulness will not of themselves produce an educated citizenry, but they are vital qualities in individuals and institutions that are charged with that responsibility for the 80's and beyond.

One such institution is the Congress. Despite protestations about local control, the federal government and its branches will have much to say about the future shape of schools. The recent creation of a cabinet-level Department of Education shows the machinery of government readying itself for this expanded role.

The fact is that the well is running dry of new resources for education from local and state taxes. Inevitably, the federal government will be asked to do for education the one task it does supremely well - to collect money. And as the federal government pays more and more of the education bill, it will more and more shape the future of education, for "he who pays the piper calls the tune."

This is a new role for federal government that many of us anticipate with profound apprehension.

If federal involvement in education is to be a sign of hope and a harbinger of change for the better, the Congress had better

determine now what it wants to nourish and what it wants to avoid in fulfilling its expanding role in American education.

At best, the Congress should shape legislation toward a specific vision of what the citizen of the 80's will need and be and how he or she should be educated.

As this vision slowly takes shape, a partial list of policies to be encouraged by the Congress in the meantime would be the following:

- 1) The Laws of the 80's Must Support, Not Damage the American Family

This may seem an unlikely place to start in speaking of schools. Why is support for the family structure important in this context? It is evident that otherwise ordinary schools produce extraordinary student achievement when students come from homes in which education is valued and nourished. One middle-class suburban Catholic school outside Philadelphia - with forty children in each classroom - has an average student performance level which is one year to a year and a half above national norms through the eight grades. The program is comparable to that of other schools with less dramatic results to show; teacher experience, training, and apparent competence are likewise comparable; class size is typically smaller in those other schools. The difference appears to be families which nurture learning.

Yet this positive home support is threatened. Among many negative forces, there is one which the Congress can control.

The frightful taxation/inflation squeeze on the middle-class family that patronizes schools like the one in question is bound to diminish and may even destroy those positive educational influences of a healthy home. Our nation has a history of reaching out to help families already in trouble; in carrying out its legislative responsibilities and functions, the Congress has an opportunity to help solid families stay strong. At the same time, this concern for the family should not lead to governmental efforts at any level to reshape traditional family values and structures.

Specifically, what assistance can the Congress give to healthy homes that develop the readiness of children for learning? Congress must gear tax relief to parents during the years in which child-rearing expenses strain family resources and relationships. Present public policy frequently seems anti-family. For example, an institutionalized child receives far more help than a child maintained within the family; until recently, the family had to be impoverished before any relief for the cost of education was forthcoming. The recent Middle Income Student Assistance Act was a small but useful step to broaden relief for college educational costs of self-supporting families. Similarly motivated but different relief should be extended to families with younger children who need to carry at this time a lighter tax load. Tax policies which relieve financial pressures on the home are pro-family policies.

As government seeks to help the poor and to be sensitive to the already wounded family structure, it must also be aware that the fabric of family life in mainstream America is strained. If public policy does not help healthy families to stay healthy, the effort to repair damage once done and neglected will be beyond our national ingenuity and resources.

2. The Congress Should Take the Lead in Insuring A Positive Impact for the Many Political Forces Shaping American Education

Whether we mourn its passing or not, the Walton's Mountain epoch of American education is gone or is rapidly disappearing. Even isolated rural communities have felt the impact of the values of the larger community through television. Yet one fundamental purpose that all schools share remains simple and straight-forward: To serve children, and to prepare them for adult life.

The forces that make that purpose attainable are not just in the classroom. Traditionally, the teacher has heeded the support of the school community --- principals, parents, other teachers, superintendents --- and of the larger community of taxpayers and interested citizens.

Two new forces are influencing or are about to influence this child-centered purpose most powerfully: The creation of the Department of Education, a symbol of the increased federal role in education, and the rise of teacher unions and organizations, a huge army of voters powerfully influencing a still larger army of voters --- the parents.

Both of these forces will spearhead the drive in the '80's to increase the federal portion of support for public education from less than 10% to 30% or more. The important question is this: HOW CAN THE CONGRESS ENSURE THAT ANY INCREASE IN SUPPORT --- AND TAXATION --- FOR SCHOOLS WILL ULTIMATELY BE GOOD FOR THE CHILD-NURTURING PURPOSE OF EDUCATION, AND AT THE SAME TIME, PRESERVE THE ECONOMIC STABILITY OF OUR NATION AS A WHOLE?

The ability of Congress to take the leadership in this issue and not to be overpowered by it will be crucial. Clearly, the Congress may not interfere with the free and proper development of organized teacher power; it may and must question the legislative agenda and activities of such organizations to see that in each instance the general good is served. And the Congress does have the obligation to exercise legislative oversight of the instruments of government, such as the new Department of Education, which carry out public policy and may tend too aggressively to create it as well.

A great deal of honesty about the present and future uses of power in American education will be needed as the federal financial role in education gives future Congresses and administrations great influence over the forms of American education in the '80's, and over who will control the schools in that future.

3. The Congress Should Reward Success and Foster Accountability

Childhood diabetes is a frightening malady, but it can be controlled with medication. What would we think of a parent who would say to us, "Johnny has been taking his medication for a year now, and his diabetes is under control. So now we're stopping the medication"? No, we would say, it is not enough to stabilize the condition; you must maintain that balance through continued medication, so long as the risk of a setback is there.

This example illustrates the difficulty of our current federal policy toward the educationally disadvantaged child living in an economically depressed area; that policy punishes success and rewards failure. It is the problem particularly of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. IF IN FACT A SCHOOL SUCCEEDS IN BRINGING UNDERACHIEVING CHILDREN UP TO WHERE THEY SHOULD BE IN ACHIEVEMENT, SERVICE TO THESE CHILDREN STOPS FORTHWITH. It is as if we pretend that the social forces that contributed so largely to their earlier failure will not continue to undermine the educational health of such children.

One possible partial solution is for the Congress to mandate that, to maintain their achievement levels, eligible children may continue to receive appropriate service under Title I for a prolonged period after they begin to perform at levels appropriate to their age and grade.

The fact is that the "hellish cycle of poverty" never ceases to pull back toward failure the child who has begun to learn. The negative forces are still at work even when the child starts to succeed in his school work. We must reward that child's success by continued service and support in order to insure that that success is enduring.

This lead-off example illustrates a trap to be avoided as Congress seeks to clarify its widening educational responsibilities and role for the '80's.

But what about schools - and children - who still fail?

We are a nation with a generous heart. When that generosity leads us to give children a true chance to learn, it is a productive impulse; when it leads us to mobilize what resources are needed to heal handicaps which can be corrected, it ennobles our national character. But when as responsible adults we ignore the educational needs or even cripple the educational growth of the majority of children in a school in order to preserve the improperly defined rights to traditional educational programs of those who will not, or perhaps cannot profit from such programs, that is bad public policy and bad schooling for both categories of children.

This observation is not an invitation for teachers to pursue self-fulfilling prophecies of failure or for disruptive children to be neglected. It is an argument for realism, for tailoring the program to the child, and for nurturing in each child respect for the rights of every other child.

The Congress cannot control and is not responsible for excessive permissiveness in schools. But rewarding success may influence changes necessary to insure that success is possible. And only then can teachers - and administrators - be held accountable.

The flaw in keying support solely to bad test results or disruptive school situations is that attitudes will never change which prevent success or allow disorder. A way must be found to stop pouring good money into unsuccessful programs and policies.

There is a vast group of children who need help and want help; there are teachers who want to help them. But no one learns in an armed camp or with the wrong program to meet his or her needs. When we are determined to make or keep our schools as places of learning and human development, then we can hold these institutions, and those who staff them, accountable.

4. The Congress Should Continue Its Efforts To Limit Paperwork As the Price of Benefits; It Should Insist That Those Who Write Regulations Do Not Exceed Or Impede the Intention of Congress

In recent years the Congress has demonstrated its commitment to reduce needless regulation and paperwork. Yet as Congress reduces with one hand, the regulatory agencies multiply with the other the number and complexity of conditions to be met in order to receive benefits, to avoid penalties, and to satisfy examiners and auditors. Those who accuse the courts of assuming the legislative function have not seen anything until they have studied the activities of regulatory agencies. As Congress examines the rule-writing of federal agencies year by year and determines whether such regulation is justified by

the law, it must set limits to this dangerous and growing regulatory impulse. And it is in agency budget approval that Congress can draw the line.

Perhaps congressional investigation is the only route to discovering why regulatory agencies are growing so militant and are more frequently exceeding their legislative mandates. This intimidation is a threat to the quality of American education, public and private, in the '80's. One is reminded of the observation of John Stuart Mill:

A state which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hand, even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great things can be accomplished.

5. The Congress Should Encourage Diversity in Education

This paper and others like it may suggest an objectivity and lack of special pleading that is really beyond the ability of any mere mortal. And so, this set of proposed policy directions will close with a bit of advocacy for non-public school children, especially those who attend religious schools. These schools are a precious resource of our nation, and their future is in peril. What is more important, we as a nation still need schools which enable parents to exercise free choice in the education of their children and to satisfy the dictates of their consciences in the education of these children.

Preservation of the rights of conscience should require no justification. Hence, the first question to be answered is,

"WHY SHOULD THE CONGRESS FOSTER THIS PARENT-CHILD FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN SCHOOLING?" And the second is "HOW AND WHAT SHOULD IT DO?"

The following are some answers to the first question; these are reasons for keeping alternatives to public education truly available:

A. A right which cannot be exercised is no right at all.

At the present time, the rich can choose exclusive, independent schools and the upper middle-class can choose exclusive neighborhoods for the public schooling of their children. The poor have little choice at all; increasingly this is true for the lower-middle and middle classes, too. And when conscience factors impel the parent toward a religious school and inflation/taxation burdens inhibit this selection, freedom of choice and freedom of conscience are both threatened.

B. Non-public schools foster healthy competition and innovation.

The Congress has a long history of opposition to monopolies. In fact, such opposition seems especially American. But increasingly, high taxes and the absence of relief for non-public school parents constitute a pro-monopoly policy in favor of public schools.

Why is this kind of monopoly unhealthy? One obvious answer leaps to mind: What challenge does a monopoly have to

improve if it is the only game in town? Will public schools be better if they are the only schools, except for a few wealthy academies? Our history suggests the contrary: Diversity nourishes growth.

C. In urban areas, non-public schools contribute to neighborhood stability, to a stronger tax base, and to integrated communities.

The recent study of Thomas Vitullo-Martin¹ effectively explodes a series of myths about private education in urban settings:

I. Segregated suburban public schools, not urban private schools, are a major determinant of racial segregation in the cities.

II. The presence of private schools in cities evidently has a stabilizing influence against the flight from the cities.

III. Those who stay and choose non-public schools do not increase the demands on public education in the cities but do contribute to its support; in turn they face a double burden of tuition and taxation.

IV. Those who move to the suburbs and choose the public schools there get a disproportionate return for their tax dollars, since their tax support of public schools is tax-deductible.

These are some reasons why the Congress should encourage

1. Thomas Vitullo-Martin, "Private Schools and Urban Integration," in *New Perspectives on School Integration*, edited by Murray Friedman, et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) pp. 64-70.

variety and diversity in American schools. There are two policy directions the Congress can follow to help that diversity continue to be available:

A. Congress should continue to seek a fair share of benefits from federal legislation for eligible children in non-public schools who have handicaps and educational limitations. For example, the effort to insure state compliance with the intent of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act should be continued; the scandalous failures to apply the Education of the Handicapped Act to non-public school children should be corrected.

B. As we saw earlier, tax relief is the means most immediately available to Congress to assist parents in some measure with the financial strains which are most acute during the school-age years of their children. The Congress should therefore consider again some form of tax relief for parents, such as the tuition tax-credit idea.

In passing, we might observe that freedom of choice through a voucher plan is more likely to occur in the immediate future at the state level. At the federal level, voucher legislation will only pass if general dissatisfaction with a public education monopoly overpowers those strong forces which want all aid to go to public schools and public school children.

CONCLUSION

This paper, and the others in this collection, are bound to be unsatisfying for the legislator, the general reader, and the author alike. The limitations are not just those of space, for we are

talking about preparing young people for a world we can ourselves only dimly perceive.

And so we must finally look not to issues or programs for answers, but to our own vision of what the man and woman of the decades ahead should be, though we know not what they will do.

Tom Fox, the columnist, quotes his mother's description of what parents must do for children: "Give them roots, and wings." Roots to know where they come from - their heritage and its values - and wings - to dare to grow, to be truly unique, as every human being can and is meant to be. Roots and wings - a good guide for schools and for Congress itself.

Let me close with some of the qualities which I would suggest the man and woman of the 21st Century will need, whatever is the shape of their world, and life, and work. They will need to be trained with intellectual rigor, according to their abilities and future needs and those of society, and with nourished powers of independent judgment and respect for work and personal responsibility. Even more will they need respect for human dignity, their own and that of others, which will foster a sense of reverence and responsibility for others as well. And finally, because we are, as Justice Douglas once said, a religious people, the man and woman of the future must reverence God, and accept the world as a precious gift He places in our stewardship. May He bless and guide the Congress, for it will powerfully influence the future of our greatest natural resource, our children.

The Privatization of Public Education:
Implications for Educational Policy

Charles S. Benson and E. Gareth Hoachlander
University of California, Berkeley

Throughout their history, public schools have been a constant target of efforts to reform American education. To say that pressures for reform will continue into the 1980s would be a patently obvious statement of little interest to anyone were it not for some troubling and paradoxical directions in recent proposals. Historically, despite strong dissatisfactions with the processes and achievements of America's public schools, reformers have rarely questioned the intrinsic value of public education. Schooling, with all its faults, has been understood to be a collective concern, deserving not only of substantial public funds but also of direct public involvement in its provision. If schools have had problems, these problems have not been seen as a product of the schools' publicness per se, but rather that schools have been given a difficult public charge to address complex social and educational problems.

As we enter the 1980s, there is some evidence that these perceptions are changing. A growing number of people are attributing the failures of public schools to the simple fact that they are public. Hence, several reformers are pressing for a radical change in American education--a public policy that would privatize public education. Public schools, they argue, will do a better job of educating America's children if they became private schools, subject to the rigors of consumer demand and efficiencies imposed by the market. In this paper, we briefly explore this trend. Our basic premise is that these proposals to privatize public education have distressingly negative implications and pose a serious challenge for educational policy.

Sources of Discontent

In California in late 1979, there are three privatization initiatives--two voucher proposals and one tax credit proposal--seeking signatures to qualify for the June 1980 ballot. If one of the initiatives gains sufficient signatures to qualify for the ballot and then receives a simple majority of votes, any California household will be able to claim as its constitutional right public financial support for private education. Likewise, in the U.S. Congress, the Tuition Tax Relief Bill (S.1095) is due for renewed consideration in 1980. Should it become law, the bill will open the federal coffers to private schools.* This push for substantially increased public support for private education is strong, notwithstanding the recent defeat of a voucher proposal in Michigan. Disaffection with the public schools is deeply felt among a growing number of American families, especially middle-class families with the political clout to register their frustration and demand relief. As long as their dissatisfaction continues to grow, the drive toward privatization of public education will be vigorously supported throughout the 1980s. Unfortunately, we are not sanguine that the weakening affection for public education can be easily halted or reversed. The discontent has deep roots, and a number of social developments are likely to exacerbate the frustration.

Probably foremost among the sources of parents dissatisfaction with public schools is a growing sense of powerlessness. Schools seem increasingly impenetrable bastions of a professional education coleric that has been ossified by tenure guarantees, seniority rights, and an endless number of rigid rules governing what teachers teach and how and when they teach it. Despite federal requirements for parent advisory councils and other measures to promote parental involvement in public education, many parents feel incapable of influencing a

school world dominated by union agreements and bureaucratic directives. Thus, "the promise of power to families is a major appeal of the voucher plan. For now, as they watch school administrators and teacher unions wrangle while their children seem forgotten in the fray, parents tend to feel helpless."¹ Private schools seem to offer a world free of strikes, slowdowns, and teacher indifference to parental opinions on what works best for their children.

Fueling these feelings that loss of accountability has been one of the costs of unionization and bureaucratization of the public schools is the more general feeling that schools have simply not delivered what they promised, social mobility and more economic equality. Explanations for this failure depend, in part, on one's political persuasions. Thus, on the left, an increasingly attractive argument holds that public schools actually help to sustain and reproduce inequality by serving as a social sorter that channels large numbers of working class youth into low paying, unsatisfying work while reserving positions of power and reward for the upper class elite.² The right, on the other hand, seems to argue that schools fail to do what the left says they have done too well--i.e., to provide students with marketable skills and well developed habits that will enable them to become part of the productive labor force.

Wherever one stands in this debate, there is little doubt that schools have been unable to give large numbers of nonwhite and Hispanic youth access to the primary labor market. For these students, typically trapped in center city schools, there is little relationship between the content of courses offered and the lives they are resigned to live outside the mainstream market economy. Indeed, this frustrating disjuncture between the school curriculum and the realities of the world is probably a major cause of the truancy, vandalism,

and dropping out that have become such disturbing hallmarks of urban school systems. The urban malaise has led some of the nation's leaders to suggest that privatization of education will improve the lot of minority and low-income families. Roy Innis, National Director of the Congress for Racial Equality, has stated: "The rich and the upper middle class in America have always been able to vote with their feet, so to speak, in educational issues. If they don't like the public schools, they simply send their children to private schools and pay the tuition. It is time to give poor minorities the chance to vote with their feet, the chance to use to a greater extent the resources of private education."³

Private schools, of course, have been available almost exclusively to the well-to-do, but even among the rich and the upper middle class, voting with one's feet has led relatively infrequently to the doors of a private school. Rather, it has led to suburbia, socially and racially homogenous communities that have been able to establish public schools less troubled by turmoil and conflict than their urban counterparts. However, this gain in tranquility has costs. To insure control over the suburban school system, it helps to be small. Control over not only schools but also the housing market that regulates access to schools is much easier to maintain in communities of moderate size, and indeed America's most exclusive communities tend also to be among the nation's smallest. Small size, however, poses a major educational problem. With a few exceptions--such as Brookline, Scarsdale, New Trier, and Beverly Hills--small suburban districts cannot sustain an academically varied program. In this regard, cities clearly have the edge. With much larger student bodies, they are able to employ teachers specialized in language, science, and the arts, as well as offer an array of costly services to children with special needs.

Hence, when the middle class placed its bets on suburban schooling, it lost the ability to avail itself of the top range of teachers' intellectual talent. To recoup, many families are now searching for a private alternative, beguiled by the belief that the staffs of private schools are composed of graduates of our best universities and of persons who have majored in the hard disciplines rather than in education. The assessment is, of course, partly accurate, though due probably to these schools' exclusiveness than to the mere fact that they are private.

The ability of many suburban districts to sustain a public school program of high quality has been hindered further by school finance reform and by growing fiscal constraints on the public sector generally. School finance reform has often sought to limit expenditures in high spending districts, many of which are suburban systems with high quality programs that attract the mobile middle class. With limits on spending and rapidly inflating costs, program quality has suffered, and parents are beginning to look for alternatives.

In many regards, urban districts have been even harder hit by school finance reform and fiscal crisis. Popular beliefs aside, urban districts are often high spending districts, and finance reform efforts have been slow to recognize that these higher expenditures usually reflect higher costs and greater concentrations of children with costly special needs. As a result, many urban districts have not benefited from finance reform, and a few cities such as San Francisco and New York have actually been threatened with substantial losses in school revenues. Worsening this plight is the generally deteriorating fiscal condition of many cities faced with abandonment by both industry and middle- and upper-income families, not only to the suburbs but also to other regions of the country.

Nevertheless, some cities appear to be enjoying a renaissance of social and economic activity. Boston, Washington, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco, to name a few, all report a return of middle class families to some urban neighborhoods. Though dominated by young professional couples who do not yet have school-aged children, there is reason to expect that many intend to stay. With both spouses working, a trend that shows no likelihood of declining soon, commuting long distances is both time consuming and expensive. Costs are further increased by the energy crisis, and the prospect of shortages as well as price increases makes urban living even more attractive. Moreover, these young couples are of a generation that grew up in suburbia and found it wanting. For them, the city is a more intellectually and culturally stimulating place to live than suburbia, and if some of the major problems of urban life can be overcome, they plan to stay.

One of those major problems is schools, and unfortunately the presence of a growing urban middle class is not likely to bode well for the public schools, at least over the next decade. For one thing, their numbers while growing are still small. For another, they are mostly white, and despite growing up in a time of significant progress toward racial equality, many harbor lingering fears of schools and neighborhoods where minorities are the majority. In New York, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Chicago, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and a number of other cities, minorities comprise over 80 percent of public school students. Consequently, concerns over racial imbalance, as well as the quality of the school program diminished by fiscal problems, make private alternatives very attractive to these new urban families. Hence, one can expect substantial support for privatization to come from urban centers.

In short, as we enter the 1980s, a number of forces are coalescing support for privatizing education. Taken alone, probably neither unionization, bureaucratization, underemployment, finance reform, fiscal crisis, urban renaissance, nor racial conflict would be sufficient to portend such a change. Together, they greatly increase the likelihood of a successful effort. How should such a prospect be regarded? What are some of the implications of privatization for American education and society at large?

Privatization: Social Choice or Social Triage?

At a time when big government and big corporations dominate more and more aspects of our everyday lives, it is easy to understand the appeal of private schools. The promise of most privatization initiatives is a relatively small personalized school free of the curriculum controls of state bureaucracies and responsive to the concerns of parents and the individual needs and interests of their children. It is a school that can be held accountable or easily abandoned for another if it fails to deliver a sound educational program. It is a school where parents of like mind can organize a curriculum and teaching environment free of the conflict engendered in a school where parents with competing interests are trapped by the administrative boundaries of school attendance areas. It is a school where choice can be exercised freely and responsibly in the best interests of the child--interests determined by those in the best position to judge what they are, the parents. Such is the promise, and were privatization able to accomplish it, one might judge such a change beneficial in a pluralistic society with a strong commitment to individual freedom and responsibility.

We believe, however, the promise is mostly illusory and in being so diverts public attention and energy away from addressing the very serious problems that beset our schools. Although the middle class probably stands to lose little

from privatization, we suspect they will be sorely disappointed in the gains. The elite private schools, which are the models many hope an expanded private system would emulate, are not likely to be any more accessible to middle class families than they are now. If they are eligible for public funds and willing to participate in voucher programs--two events that are by no means certain--they will be so oversubscribed that extremely competitive admission standards or admission by lottery will exclude most students. Most parents will have to choose among newly formed schools with no reputation or record of successful teaching. If experience with private trade schools is any indication, many of these new schools will surely fail as a result of administrative incompetence or fiscal mismanagement, and some few will undoubtedly try to exploit the new market for private education with fly-by-night operations established to turn a quick profit. In either event, parents may find that schooling for their children becomes much more unstable than they had anticipated.

For the poor, consequences may be more serious. For those able to escape the chaos of center city schools, privatization will be seen as beneficial. But they are likely to be few in number. The poor have been concentrated in center city schools in large part because they have also been concentrated in center city neighborhoods. Transportation to schools in better parts of the city or in the suburbs is likely to pose costly and insurmountable barriers for most poor families. Poor parents will face the same problems with organizing or choosing among new schools that are accessible. Additionally, problems of exploitation may be greater for poor families with fewer options about where to live. There is good evidence that for many of the necessities supplied by private markets--food, clothing, housing, furniture, appliances, etc.--the poor pay more, and there is no reason to suspect that private schools would behave differently.

More troubling is the fact that when schools are subjected to competition for students, they will be subjected to intense pressures to demonstrate results of good teaching. Were we able to define and identify good teaching more clearly, this might be a welcome development, but as it is, the easiest way to show evidence of good teaching is to admit only good students. Schools will be very reluctant to admit students who are likely to be poor achievers, create discipline problems, or require costly special services. This disincentive will create problems for rich and poor alike, but the effects are likely to fall disproportionately on minorities and the poor, whose children because of a number of social and economic inequities are more likely to have difficulty achieving in terms of the educational standards determined by the white middle-class majority. Consequently, these children may become increasingly isolated in the public schools that become a dumping ground for underachieving children with serious disadvantages and special needs. Privatization thus becomes a form of social triage, benefiting the middle class and a small number of very ambitious and determined poor families at the expense of a large number of poor and minority children with the greatest educational needs.

This kind of increased social and racial isolation is probably an inevitable consequence of privatization, despite the best intentioned efforts of reforms to prevent it. A commitment to reducing racial and economic inequality requires a social contract, a public commitment. Otherwise, it is in the best interest of everyone acting privately to ignore the issue. Privatization encourages such sentiments. It is no doubt true that in promoting racial and economic equality we have demanded too much of our public schools; barring more sweeping changes in society at large, they simply cannot deliver all that was expected. But that failure does not strike us as sufficient grounds for permitting dissatisfied parents to buy out of the social contract, to purchase

in effect the right to segregate their children and themselves racially and socially. Even in a capitalist society, there are some things that ought not to be for sale.

Implications for Educational Policy

To say that privatization is an undesirable direction for educational change in the 1980s is not to say that all is well with public education, though proponents of vouchers and other schemes may well accuse us of defending the status quo. We do believe that American education is threatened with a crisis; we do not believe it is a crisis of parental choice or the lack of it. What seems to us more serious and far more deserving of public attention are increasing problems in the relationship between education and work. The failure of schools to prepare large numbers of young people for rewarding and productive work is widely recognized and, as we have acknowledged, a major stimulus for privatizing public schools. Much less understood is that this failure of public education results as much from the way work is structured and distributed as from the way schooling is organized and delivered. The problem has several dimensions.

On one level, there is the simple fact that in our present economy there are both good jobs and bad jobs, and the type one gets does not have an especially strong relation to one's educational achievements. If the perceptions of center city youth about the irrelevance of schooling offerings to their lifetime opportunities is not sufficient indication, there is an impressive amount of academic evidence showing that one's social and economic status is best predicted by the socioeconomic status of one's parents. Education has thus far had little impact on this relationship. Despite protestations to the contrary, America is

not a classless society, and that fact is clearly understood by a great number of the nation's young people.

Disenchantment with employment opportunities, however, is not limited to the poor. Among children of the middle class, there is increasing uncertainty about what the future holds and whether schooling bears any relevance to what they will be able and willing to do. Young people are acutely aware of the facelessness of modern corporate society and the growing service sector in which the product is increasingly difficult to identify, much less one's role in producing it. Of course, they have not yet experienced this work world first hand and they undoubtedly harbor misconceptions, but they do experience first hand the effects of that world on their parents. The results are often unpleasant--hypertension, alcoholism, drug abuse, physical violence, financial worries, and divorce.

These anxieties and the resulting ennui is exacerbated by more general uncertainties about one's usefulness. Compared to children of a century ago, today's young people have remarkably few opportunities to participate in any kind of productive activity with clear signals that society values the output. No longer able to help with producing food on the farm or engage in other kinds of household production that made them valuable and valued members of the family, "children are a liability," in the words of one well-known manual on childrearing. There are ample signs that today's young people understand this and resent it but are powerless to do anything about it.

The education crisis, then, is really a crisis in the world of work, and unless educational policy is linked more closely to labor policy, no educational reform is likely to have much impact. It is not possible here to do more than sketch a few ways in which this linkage might be improved. First,

we need to begin exploring ways to distribute work based on one's stage in the life cycle rather than one's position in the social structure. For the next several decades, we will continue to have a large number of relatively unpleasant, monotonous jobs that quickly become unrewarding if performed for long periods of time. With the prospect of change and advancement, few jobs are intrinsically boring and unsatisfying. It is only when the rewards cease and there is no hope of escape that work becomes degrading and futile. A young female soccer player, concerned about staying in shape, might find ditch digging tolerable and possibly enjoyable as long as she knew the work was temporary and might better enable her later on to supervise a construction crew. Similarly, a male high school student might find routine office work a good way to practice for typing college term papers or to prepare for an office management position at some later time.

Second, we need to find ways to involve young people in productive activities early on in their school lives. A good place to start is in the school itself, requiring students to assume responsibility for some of the daily operations--answering telephones, sorting mail, sweeping halls, making repairs, tutoring younger students, and so on. A number of vocational schools operate cafeterias staffed mainly by students, and there is no reason why this could not be common practice in most secondary schools. McDonalds has no doubts about high school students ability to run a restaurant; why should we doubt their ability to run the school cafeteria?

Third, we must give more attention to workers participation in the management of work, decision over what gets produced and how and when it will be done. Again, the school itself is a place to start. In some respects, teachers feel as powerless as parents over the daily routine of the classroom. Rigid schedules, required curricula, inflexible staffing rules, rigid restrictions

on class size, and numerous reporting requirements all impinge on the teacher's own ability to make good, common sense decisions about how best to teach. Nor should such efforts to democratize work be limited to staff; students should be involved as well. This can take two forms. First, students should be expected to participate more actively in the decisions affecting the management of the school. Second, students should be encouraged to develop and operate small-scale school enterprises that experiment with different kinds of decision-making procedures.

Finally, we must find ways to increase the interaction between education and business and labor, while at the same time placing educators on a more equal footing with the private sector. For some time, educators have rather defensively endured the complaints of many business people that schools simply have not been doing the job and therefore ought to be radically restructured. The complaints are not without merit, but it is equally appropriate for educators to make demands of business and labor, arguing that schools can do a better job of educating for work, if work is organized and distributed differently.

This is at best a sketchy outline, but it begins to address what we think should be the major educational concern of the 1980s, the relationship between school and work. The movement for privatization ignores the issue and indeed may aggravate the problem with a false promise. Without addressing the nature of work and the schools' role in preparing students for the work world, privatizing the public schools may lead to the identical set of unproductive and inequitable student outcomes whose only difference is that they are now legitimated behind a thin veil of free choice.

FOOTNOTES

1. Independent and Gazette, (Berkeley, California), p.4, November 7, 1979.
2. See for example, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, New York: Basic Books, 1976.
3. Independent and Gazette, op. cit.



The National Association of Secondary School Principals

1904 Association Drive • Reston, Virginia 22091 • Tel: 703-860-0200

September 25, 1979

OWEN B. HERRMAN
Executive Director

Honorable Carl D. Perkins
Chairman
Committee on Education and Labor
U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This past spring you were good enough to ask for input from both theoreticians and practitioners as the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education begins its needs assessment for the decade of the eighties. I respond now from a background of 45 years in American education. Assignments have included service as an elementary school principal, a junior-senior high school principal, a superintendent of schools, a university teacher, and for 12 years Commissioner of Education for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As you are aware, these past 11 years I have been privileged to be on the Washington scene serving as executive officer of the 36,000 member National Association of Secondary School Principals. These responsibilities have included numerous visits to schools and colleges in each of our 50 states. Similarly, observations have been made in all parts of the world—from Sydney to Moscow, Bangkok to Rome, and Calcutta to Stockholm. In each case visits with leaders here and abroad were supplemented by direct contacts with students, teachers, parents, and citizens from all walks of life. I mention this because far too frequently we tend to exclude from our deliberations those who serve daily outside the profession.

You and your colleagues on Capitol Hill are to be commended for seeking this input as we enter a new decade. It is critically important that our forecasts and planning steps be examined well in advance of any target dates. Frankly, intelligent planning for the future has been conspicuous by its absence in our profession and in many other local, state, and national endeavors. The result has been management by crisis. In the field of education one does not have to consult the tea leaves to know that there are serious problems to be faced in the months and years ahead.

Financing
Education

First and foremost is the question of adequate funding for our schools and colleges. With everything else in the 1980s the bill for education will be approaching astronomical levels. Yet, for those who think education is costly, the cost of ignorance staggers the imagination. Also, when the daily costs of schooling (less than \$10) are compared with per capita costs in hospitals, detention homes, and jails, our expenditures shrink to insignificance. On the question of revenue sources I testified before the House Ways and Means Committee in 1971 and suggested a more equitable formula with the states carrying two-thirds of the cost and the Federal Government one third. Although not received too enthusiastically by your colleagues at that time, I am pleased to note increasing national attention to this possibility. Without question

Serving all Administrators in Secondary Education

confiscatory tax burdens must be lifted from the backs of local taxpayers.

In conjunction with the above issue the 94th Congress took a giant step forward in enacting PL 142 with its long-overdue mandate concerning handicapped children. The NASSP registered as a proponent in support of this far-reaching legislation and we continue to be enthusiastic about its implementation. Yet, funding imbalance during the 1980s will result in thousands of children and youth being short-changed. When support was given to PL 94-142 it was assumed that the fiscal pie would be substantially increased in size to underwrite these new services. Such has not been the case and youngsters we categorize as average or normal, in addition to the gifted, are going to be the forgotten young citizens of the new decade. With an ongoing tax revolt and increasing resistance to school budget requests, mandated services such as those incorporated in the new law for the handicapped will obviously be supported. We could well be facing a financial and academic disaster, however, in attempting to support general programs for the masses from limited or depleted budgets.

Public Confidence

The financial crunch mentioned above is not the only problem we will face in the eighties. Although it serves little purpose to catalogue all of our ills, several deserve attention as we plan for the new decade. Among these we must consider shrinking enrollments, violence and vandalism, student militancy, declining test scores, diplomas to functional illiterates, vocational incompetence, youth unemployment, alcoholism and drug abuse, strikes and threats of strikes, and others *ad nauseam*. Because of these one respected *New York Times* editor wrote that, "America is in headlong retreat from its commitment to education." Understandably, any such retreat is accompanied by a loss of public confidence. The educational establishment, of course, is not alone. A recently completed survey probed the public confidence quotient of the scientific community, medicine, religion, the military, business, TV and the press, our Congress, organized labor, the Federal Government including the Executive Branch, and several other institutions. The research involved the percent of respondents expressing "a great deal of confidence" in the people running various institutions. The time frame included the years 1973 through 1978. Education dropped to its lowest rating ever, from 49 to 28.4 percent. If it is of any solace only the scientific community and medicine rated slightly higher in the opinion of our citizenry. The others, even including the U. S. Supreme Court (28 percent), dropped substantially with the press at 20, Congress at 12.9, and labor bringing up the rear with 11 percent.

Admittedly with the loss of confidence in public institutions we have been notoriously inept in telling our side of the story. One distinguished British observer noted that we appear to conceal better than we explain. Perhaps we have forgotten that these are the public's schools, and for far too long public involvement has been minimal. Because of this unfortunate isolation and the

cacophonous symphony of the critics, a sharp confidence decline was inevitable. What we must do and do more effectively, is open our doors on a daily basis and get the public actively involved in the schools. One shot programs such as visitations during American Education Week simply will not do the job. While local newspapers are still considered an excellent source of information about the schools, in a recent Gallup poll 98 percent of the parents interviewed named *personal involvement* as a top priority.

Goals

The nation's schools, particularly its secondary schools, reflect more than most institutions do the forces of change in society. Thus the schools become modified with each passing decade by the flow of American life. The decade of the eighties will be no exception for these remarkably adaptable institutions. Perhaps the time is appropriate for a Congressional or Presidential Commission to reappraise our current and future goals. When goals are clear schools can be extraordinarily effective. In NASSP's bicentennial publication *Secondary Schools in A Changing Society/ This We Believe*, mention was made of the three million graduates who leave our schools each year. If the society demanded it we could produce three million welders, or three million trombonists, or three million French linguists. Goal setting, however, is an exceedingly difficult exercise. If the above commission recommendations are not feasible perhaps the new Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education could be assigned this task. This assumes that Congress in its wisdom will enact the Department of Education Act of 1979 (S 210 and HR 2444) as recommended by the House-Senate Conference Committee. Whichever path is to be followed goal input must be obtained from leaders in all walks of life.

Curriculum Sprawl

Without wishing to second guess the outcomes of any and all commissions on goals for America's schools and colleges, a preliminary admonition may be appropriate. In 1918, following a lengthy study, *The Seven Cardinal Principles of Education*, were enunciated: Sound health knowledge and habits, command of the fundamental processes (the basics), worthy home membership, education for a vocation, education for good citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character. Our secondary schools in attempting to attain these goals were spread far too thin and tried to be all things to all people. Policing services, welfare, social responsibilities, health programs and literally dozens of others were dumped at the school house door. The typical course offerings rivaled Fibber McGee's closet--everything went in, nothing ever came out. We apparently forgot Whitehead's advice and counsel not to teach too many subjects (or take on too many societal responsibilities), but what we teach to teach thoroughly. The result has been described as curriculum sprawl with an accompanying decline in test scores. The return to basics in the eighties should be more than a slogan. But the basics must include far more than the three Rs. In a highly technological society students must be taught a basic appreciation and understanding of science, the humanities, modern foreign languages, social studies, and civic responsibility. Much has been written about

competency examination in these areas and to date approximately 75 percent of the states have mandated such exams. Testing, of course, is basic to determining levels of understanding and competency, as well as providing for remedial instruction when and where needed. With state after state rushing to mandate such examinations, however, the concept has been oversold. Parents have been led to believe that the simple provision for such testing is a guarantee that all youngsters will now achieve at extraordinarily high levels, or that all students will do everything well. This brings us back to the impossibility of the track coach having all four minute milers. What is important is that we diagnose achievement levels and needs and bring each student up to his or her potential prior to sending them out into society.

Reshaping Education

Our form of government stands or falls as the people succeed or fail in their responsibilities as citizens. From the earliest years of this great nation everyone has agreed that the only sound basis upon which to maintain an intelligent citizenry is through education. Originally, however, the parameters of education were fairly narrow, i.e., dealing only with young people of school age. Today we have new conditions and external forces beating on our system of education. Some have been well beyond the reach of the schools and recovery action appears to be stalled. Zero population, energy, and economic growth are phenomena unheard of until recent years. Even the thought that our schools and colleges will have fewer customers sounds un-American. After generations geared to growth and program expansion, shrinkage and retrenchment are foreign terms we find very difficult to accept. In the 1980s as world economics puts pressure on our productivity and social-service delivery systems a more efficient and cost effective technology must be developed. As one small example our school and collegiate systems must put microcomputers to much better use. Employment opportunities following graduation must also be provided for youth. The seven million unemployed youth in the western democracies mandates a solution in the coming decade.

Finally, on the question of reshaping American education I believe we must develop a multi-level structure similar to what Japan has done. In their reorganization there are schools for childhood, the adolescent years, higher education, and continuing education for all adults. With an aging population schools should no longer be regarded as single-purpose institutions for children and youth. That concept is now sociologically obsolete. We need schools for people - not just pupils. I would anticipate that the eighties will witness impressive growth in the education/community centers. Many school buildings no longer in use can be adapted for such programs and schedules established for the full day and evening throughout the week.

Who Does What

During the debate on the Department of Education Act of 1979, the opposition made frequent reference to the dangers of federalism.

Within months of the establishment of any such agency they predicted a federal take-over and the subsequent collapse of the state and local education agencies. Had they scrutinized the conference committee bill more carefully they would have seen the clear statement that the establishment of the Department *shall not increase federal control of education*. In fact the legislation specifically prohibits federal control. This does, however, suggest a review of the functions and responsibilities of the local, state and federal partners. In 1967 the ranking minority member of your committee inserted in the Congressional Record (June 12) my thoughts on the subject. Although twelve years have passed since that address at an Atlantic City convention I continue to stand by the conclusions reached. Although an obvious over-simplification, education continues to be a *local function, a State responsibility, and a Federal concern*. How well each partner is performing its role will be a subject of increasing debate in the eighties.

The State's Role

The *jurisdictional and leadership function* should remain with this partner. Admittedly, State Education Departments have not always been underwritten adequately with the result that they have not been regarded as influential instruments in the shaping of educational policy. Today we appear to have turned the corner and a ground swell of support can be found in a majority of the States. The several Departments are in a unique position to provide a type of educational leadership which, because of a variety of local conditions, schools and colleges cannot provide. Even with the strengthening of the Washington partner education is a state function and a state function it must remain.

The Local Role

The *operational function* should be found on this level. When breakthroughs have been made in establishing quality programs of education they have usually resulted from local initiative. A bureaucratic structure on the State and Federal levels customarily contributes to dead-center mediocrity. This does not mean that the State partner should not maintain minimum standards beneath which no community would be allowed to fall; or, should not exercise continuing leadership. The State cannot abdicate its responsibility for these any more than it can refuse to carry its share of the financial burden. Citizen involvement and grass roots support, however, must remain characteristics of local school districts even more so during the next decade.

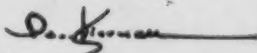
The Federal Role

A *supporting function* should be assigned to this partner, as the Federal Government can and must increase its contributions to education. With its broad tax base, it is in the most strategic position among the partners to highlight national needs and to eliminate local and state inequities. When world renowned bank robber Willie Sutton was asked by the prison psychiatrist why he robbed banks, he replied, "Because that's where the money is." By the same token, assistance

for our schools and colleges must come from where the money is-- at the Federal level. Unhampered by an overdependence on an obsolete property tax system, the Federal partner can raise monies in many ways and provide unlimited resources for the educational enterprise. There can be little question that our tax dollar "has gone to Washington," and a defensible portion of it must be returned to support education.

Time and space constraints militate against a more lengthy presentation of issues facing our schools and colleges. The Subcommittee's report for the decade of the seventies proved to be a significant contribution to both layman and professional alike. Under your leadership I am confident that the 1980 report will be similarly impressive. If I can be of further assistance as we enter the new decade I hope you will not hesitate to call upon me.

Yours very sincerely,



Executive Director

DBK:mwb

AN IMPERATIVE FOR CHANGE:
A GOAL FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

A Position Paper

National Committee for Citizens in Education
Columbia, Maryland

October 30, 1979

(150)

The Failure of the Schools

We at the National Committee for Citizens in Education have long had a love affair with the public schools. We believe the common schools have generally served our nation well, better than any other educational system in the world. This polemic, therefore, is delivered -- to use John Gardner's words -- from "critical lovers," not "unloving critics."

Historically, American public education has been plagued by national crises of potentially catastrophic proportions. The doomsayers have regularly predicted the demise of all public schools and the establishment of some other system, ranging from an Illichian de-schooled society to an elitist private entrepreneurial system.

Those who prophesy doom for the public schools might be compared to those who had the same pessimism about the future of the human race as armaments moved from the crossbow to gunpowder to tanks and airplanes. Perhaps the arms race escalation has now moved to the point where that pessimism is justified because the nuclear capability exists for destruction of most of humanity.

Perhaps also the crisis of confidence, of disenchantment and frustration by a sizable segment of the nation's population with the public schools, is now such that the public schools are indeed at a crossroads and their survival is indeed in doubt.

Tuition tax credits, renewed interest in "parent choice" vouchers, continued decline in public confidence in the schools as reflected in the Gallup-Kettering polls, and fear on the part of parents and staffs alike about the escalating violence in our schools -- these all represent a stockpiling of such serious public school deficiencies that they might really foretell the demise of the public schools as they exist today.

It is no longer just the anti-school, anti-taxes forces which predict the schools' demise, but vast numbers of parents and citizens who are convinced that the public schools are either failing to educate or are miseducating children. This potential collapse of a major public institution comes in the face of incredible historical success. Ralph Tyler, Director Emeritus of the Center for Advanced Studies in Behavioral Sciences, recently said:

Our confidence in public education should be viewed in an historical and an international perspective. At the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, only 15% of our adult population was literate. By World War I, that percentage had risen to 35 percent; and by World War II, to 55 percent. In 1979, 80-82 percent of the 17-year-olds who took the National Assessment of Educational Progress had attained basic literacy.

Why, then, is the forecast so dismal, and why are the public schools in such imminent peril? Unresponsiveness to and isolation from the needs of those whom the institution is intended to serve lead directly to all of those factors which have caused the increasing loss of confidence in the public schools. So, basing our analysis on our collective experience and our understanding of the operations of schools, let us hypothesize about some of the major reasons for that potential collapse.

Size: the sheer numbers of students and school systems and persons employed to operate the schools impedes any attempt to serve democratically the clients (students) who need the service. As with most institutions in modern western society, there is a hierarchical layering of personnel; restrictive -- often coercive -- rules and regulations are promulgated, and the bureaucracy expands to serve the needs of the bureaucracy.

Lack of clarity about the schools' mission: too many of those who are operating the schools do not clearly understand the mission of those schools. Too often they lack the skills to develop a community consensus on that mission and to articulate it. The schools, therefore, are reactive and become the scapegoats for the failure of society to solve many social problems.

Lack of forceful leadership: fragmented as it is -- the public school system is 16,000 systems -- public education lacks

national leadership. What leadership there is comes not from charismatic practioners but from scholars at the colleges and universities who are often remote from the problems. Those who claim to speak in behalf of public schools lack the passion of the detractors.

Entrenched power which impedes change: personnel and their organizations within the public school hierarchy and those who have decision-making authority outside the system have assumed or acquired considerable power -- most of it used to protect the status quo or to further limited goals.

In many school districts the school administrators -- the principal, or more often the superintendent -- make the major decisions. Where teacher organizations exist they have a powerful voice through the collective bargaining process. Other groups with influence are the school boards, state departments of education, state boards of education, state legislatures and the federal government. Finally, in recent years the courts have increasingly been called on to arbitrate public school issues. This development generally results from the failure of administrators and school boards to take responsibility for decision making.

All this means that the determinations affecting the education of children are too often made by individuals with the greatest access to information, to dollars, and to the supportive bureaucracy. Decision-making processes are monopolized

by those in power at a particular time and schooling is often in a state of warfare. In short, the present condition of public education bears little resemblance to the traditional picture of a public system responsive to lay control.

Powerlessness of the parent/citizen: it is particularly significant that rarely do parents and citizens, who have little political strength, have any significant voice in school decision making. Moreover, the students, who are the clients, are the least consulted consumer group in the United States according to Harold Howe, II, former United States Commissioner of Education.

An Imperative for Change

This partial litany of reasons for the failure of the public schools is overwhelming. Worse yet, based on past performance, there is little reason to assume that enough of the people now responsible for those schools have either the desire or the skill to make them responsive to the schooling needs of youth.

We at the National Committee for Citizens in Education believe that there is not much time left for the public school system of this country to be dramatically reshaped or it will not, and perhaps should not, continue to exist. That reshaping will not just happen, because too many of those in control

of the school systems are complacently comfortable and willing to perpetuate the status quo, while those educators who want to make changes are frustrated by the rigidity of the system.

We believe that only with radical changes in governance and a major redirection of public policy over the next five years can the public schools survive. We call our action plan an IMPERATIVE FOR CHANGE. We believe it can work nationally even in our very diverse school "system" which has allowed each community considerable latitude to run the schools as it wants and needs. The change suggested here is intended to, and CAN, fit into each unique system. It will take time and it will take leadership, but fortunately that leadership can come from any source -- schools, community, youth, and/or the political arena.

The IMPERATIVE we call for is a SHARED DECISION-MAKING PROCESS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION.

It is an imperative because it is in accord with fundamental democratic processes and is key to what we as a nation must be about, what relationships between people are about, and what schooling is about.

It is an imperative because the present state of decision making, based on power, which is generally insensitive to the needs of students, exerted by people insulated from accountability, has not worked and the public schools of this country are in deep trouble.

Implementing the Imperative

For shared decision making to work, two things must happen:

- o Parents, citizens, and students must be included in the process as true partners with the professionals.
- o There must be formal mechanisms for implementing the process at each school.

In a recent paper on governance from the Schools Commission of New South Wales, Australia, entitled, "The Case for School Based Decision Sharing," the authors make a case for the active and meaningful involvement of parents/citizens in the decisions which affect their children:

The case for participation by parents in the school's decision-making process is based on two fundamental arguments -- one educational, the other political.

Firstly, research reports have repeatedly shown that parents have as powerful an influence on school outcomes, or pupil achievement and success, as any other educational factor, including all the inputs of the school.

. . . The second main argument for including parents in school based decision making is that parents and community members are the true clients of the school.

. . . The charge that most parents are not really interested in participating in school management

is hard to deny. However, when it is considered that schools for so long have been "fortresses," actively discouraging parental involvement or trivializing it where it is allowed, the cause of the problem becomes apparent.

. . . As to the qualifications of parents to engage in educational decision making, the question should not involve what parents know about the technicalities of education, but what they can come to know. It is no longer the case that teachers have the exclusive competence to formulate educational policy. There is a considerable difference between knowing how to teach effectively and having the sole right to say what the ends of this teaching should be.

The National Committee for Citizens in Education believes that parents and citizens must continue to make every effort to influence policy at the federal, state and local district level. However, their involvement will be most meaningful if they have a voice in what happens in the education of a child attending a particular school.

We believe that whatever happens to reshape schooling must take place where the child is, where the parent/citizen concern exists, and where the teachers and principal can demonstrate their caring -- at the individual school. All else -- board of education resolution, administrative and budget details, state and federal programs and regulations -- have only one purpose: to facilitate what happens at that individual school.

Just calling for and endorsing this concept will not, in itself, create shared decision making at the local school site. There must be a formal mechanism which provides genuine authority

for a school council involving parents, teachers, administrators and students to make decisions affecting that school. School boards and superintendents must delegate a significant portion of their perceived and real prerogatives to that council and devise carefully drawn but not oppressive limits to its authority. Each district can determine its own limits and then the councils must be trusted to make decisions in the best interest of their children.

John I. Goodlad, in a recent article in the Phi Delta Kappan, "Can Our Schools Get Better?" has said:

... that schools will be better if legislators, school board members, parents, and superintendents see themselves as responsible for enhancing the effectiveness, unity, and sense of mission of the single school.

He closes his article by adding:

... Our schools can and should be better. But educators must take the lead, together, to make them so. Large numbers of parents and students are ready to join us, I believe, in making our schools, one by one, better places to live and work. The slogans for improvement are, for the most part, meaningless rhetoric. Our schools must be reconstructed, one by one, by citizens and educators working together. Nothing less will suffice. (Emphasis ours.)

Indeed our schools can and must be better. There will be false starts, reluctant and seemingly uncaring parents, and

resistive school personnel. And those will all be reasons for inaction or reversion to the comfortable, but too often non-educating, ways of the past. We truly need to work toward the elimination of those obstacles. The education or mis-education of a generation of children is at stake.

QUALITY OF EDUCATION AND THE DIMINUTION OF LOCAL CONTROL IN SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES

Robert E. Stake, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

In the last thirty years common education in the United States has become increasingly controlled by forces external to the local school--and even within it, by a corporate concept of schooling. Centrist tendencies are common throughout the society, part of the "shrinking world," but the schools have been specially pressured. The subtle political and managerial message to the schools has been, "You are incompetent, you need to be directed." Yet the only effective public educational system we have had and know how to have is one that protects teaching from outside control. Federal, state and district leaders have shown little talent for protecting classroom teaching from corporate demands.

During the early 1950s, with rising expectation for the nation's schools, there was an extended debate about increased federal participation. Would it increase the quality of public education? Those supporting the National Defense Education Bill argued that the national well-being required improvement in schooling, that national funding and national direction were needed. Opponents argued that federal legislation would diminish the control exercised by local communities--a factor seen by them essential to the maintenance of high quality instruction.

Such legislation passed--at both state and federal levels--with assurances that allocated moneys would be used only to support local communities in the pursuit of their own educational goals, such as to help them build buildings, develop new curricula, and provide special facilities for handicapped youngsters. With the shock of Sputnik, with the promise of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty, and with anger over the inequities of the property tax, with these and many political and economic changes came a willingness even to have federal and state governments assume a substantial portion of the costs of ordinary schooling. The promise remained that decisions about teaching and learning would continue to reside with local authorities.

In most schools, local control meant that a teacher was free to teach as he or she thought best. There were bounds, of course bounds set by hiring practice more than by directives or syllabi. Then as now, teachers were selected to please the administrators and the parents. Teachers felt little pressure to cover the same lessons in classrooms across the community. Often there was uniformity, but little pressure for uniformity. The ethic was one of taking youngsters "as they were," pacing the lessons and grading the papers so as to maintain a good learning environment for those in that room. Teachers were in charge.

*The research and program evaluation findings upon which this statement is based are presented best in Case Studies in Science Education, a national study funded by the National Science Foundation and distributed by the US Government Printing Office. Participation as an evaluation specialist in the evaluation of such programs as Experimental Schools, Follow-Through, Project City Science, 4-H, and Cities in Schools have contributed as well to the formulation of the position the author takes.

According to public opinion poll and casual testimony, there was a confidence in our schools. It was obvious that improvements were needed, especially for example in science where the technical advances traceable to World War II were not yet manifest in lessons and laboratories. By 1960 according to the majority opinion, the time had come for central responsibility in education, particularly in research and development of curricular materials, audio-visual aids, and student counseling. Few people in or outside the profession felt that technical and subject matter advances might be accompanied by challenges to the authority and self-confidence of the teacher. But those challenges came quickly.

The schools failed to do the rather different things that Admiral Rickover, President Johnson, and Johnny's parents wanted them to do. It was not that they did so badly what they had always done, they just were expected to do so much more. Many promises were made, and many broken. Each unfulfilled expectation brought about a new renovation, a new quest for the technology that would remedy our schools. And each new idea placed less reliance on the competence of the neighborhood and school staff to solve their problems. Much local control was yielded willingly, even advocated, as political leaders saw the schools as an instrument for social reform and as the citizenry became increasingly aware of shortcomings of the schools.

Toward a Corporate Perspective

As with many institutions in our society, the public schools have become increasingly oriented to state and federal standards, less oriented to the standards of family and neighborhood. Although state and federal standards are not indifferent to the concerns of family and neighborhood, they are not pluralistic, but rather emphasize uniformity and interchangeability, characteristics which often lend themselves to more effective review and control of the schools. Such standards sometimes make teaching more uniform and efficient but narrow the purposes and the effectiveness of schools in providing educational opportunity.

One teacher told us: "I felt that the function of the (district) staff to me was one of 'big brother.' Just as a little brother tries to please as well as mimic a big brother, I tried."

Other teachers, perhaps a majority, will testify that they are not pressured. But many corporate pressures are subtle. Many come as enticements rather than threats. The important thing is to note what teachers do with their classroom time under the two conditions, when they (and the schools in general) are with the pressures and without.

The schools today provide a curriculum--as spelled out in mandated statements--essentially the same from one corner of the country to another. By choosing somewhat different textbooks and by allowing teachers to relate personal experience to the lessons, what is taught in the classroom still varies from place to place. (Obviously there is also variability in the quality of teaching.) Much of the variability in teaching is determined by and reflects thoughtful efforts on the part of teachers to make instruction more relevant and useful to the individual student.

In our CSSE case studies, science teachers worked

hard to preserve courses for the college-bound. General-education science courses were seen as much less important. "Anyone could take them, anyone could pass them."

Unfortunately, corporate pressures to homogenize the curriculum (pressures from local administrators, teachers and parents as well as from state and federal directives) serve to discourage teachers from individualizing lessons and examining complex relationships and nuances of meaning. The quality of intellectual exchange suffers from pressure to have each student master common tasks. Almost every teacher knows that if you want to help young people think creatively, critically and substantively you need to give them experience in that thinking in every grade from kindergarten on. Yet under pressures to have each child master certain common skills, under a questionable philosophy that complex learnings cannot occur until simple competencies have been mastered, the teachers are providing fewer and fewer opportunities to move beyond simple behaviors, on to the complex learnings honored by the term "education."

This is not to say that all teachers should de-emphasize student mastery of skills. It says that the quality of education is diminishing in this country partly because uniform standards of skill and performance are overemphasized and teachers and parents are not left sufficiently free to bear the burden and exercise the opportunity to decide what is best for the individual student.

Uniform standards are emphasized across the country partly because federal-state assumptions of responsibility (and greater presumptions of responsibility at the district level) invite widespread public review and institutional accountability. Our larger social organizations have little talent for being accountable except within a context of "uniformity across subdivisions," so even when uniformity is not in the best interests of school children, the demand for it is strong.

The pressures for homogenization, almost for nationalization, of teaching and learning are brought about partly because the schools are a principal arena for economic and political striving, in the nation as a whole and in separate communities. In our efforts to improve society, we have invited the schools to neglect their curricular responsibilities.

Economic Encumbrances

It is amply recognized that social privilege is not evenly distributed in this country. Most people see unequal distribution as inevitable, if not largely desirable, but spot injustices in the way things are. Government policy has been heavily oriented to rectifying economic injustice through enabling the poor to do better by becoming better educated; that is, in a capitalist meritocracy, to become more "deserving" of a full share in the national wealth.

The foremost effort for redress of opportunity has been made under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, mainly through Projects Head Start and Follow Through. Here the youngest schoolchildren of poor families have been given special learning experiences which might compensate for some

learning-related amenities of the middle class home. Such efforts, perhaps not surprisingly, have not overcome the disadvantage of most eligible children, even when gains are measured on simple tests most directly related to the instruction, but the efforts have been for the most part a sincere and thoughtful effort to help those youngsters along. It is not apparent that these moneys could have been better spent.

The schools have become dependent on these moneys. Almost all that receive them have no choice but to satisfy (within some level of interpretation) the regulations--set up at federal, state and district levels to focus the funds on goals set by the Congress. Usually these goals are compatible with local neighborhood goals. Most participating teachers are comfortable with the goals and tolerate most of the extra administrative requirements.

But the whole operation establishes that the purposes of education are external purposes, that the responsibility for determining what is best for children is not a parent-teacher responsibility but that of distant authorities. With participation in the federal program comes the obligation to share responsibility more widely, to accept external standards, and to risk greater embarrassment by not living up to outside expectations. More pressure is on the teacher to "play it safe."

Another example of economic encumbrance on the schools is in the matter of employment opportunity. Three instances are worthy of note.

Most of our government agencies are committed to a policy of leaving the provision of employment opportunity to the private sectors of commerce and industry. Private businesses are increasing the numbers of jobs. The number of new jobs has been increasing at over a million a year for a number of years, thanks mostly to the aggressiveness and ingenuity of private businesses. The huge increase of women seeking work has filled most of those jobs, leaving many youth unemployed and leaving all workers seeking ways to make their own jobs more secure. The proportion of jobs for more highly educated people, including teachers, is diminishing, so they look for ways to protect their income.

Youth unemployment figures are high. The picture is even more discouraging when it is realized that most jobs for youth under 25 are nonpromotion, non-career-oriented jobs. Parents of these young people are distressed. Many employers are also distressed, feeling that they provide jobs that many youth will not take seriously. Both groups believe that the schools should do a better job of getting students ready for work. They probably should. But the fact is that the schools have little chance to make a difference in the youth employment situation. Better educated youngsters would not reduce the level of youth unemployment. And the school is but one small factor in establishing the work ethic of our people. The fact is that these unrealistic expectations put pressure on schools to emphasize preparation for work not highly compatible with the needs of youngsters for a general education.

There is also the matter of unionization of teachers. In order to protect their standards of living, teachers have increased their union activity enormously in the last 25 years. Even so, they have lost ground economically and professionally. Their working conditions have gotten worse; their buying power has as well. To protect themselves, they have moved much more to a collective

perspective, bidding for uniform conditions, waiving the privileges of entrepreneurs and demanding the security of blue collar workers. Much more of their after-hours activity is devoted to "protecting their turf." Less time is spent grading papers.

Another employment aspect is especially interesting to the author, though much smaller in scope than the above instances. The easy money these days for a technical specialist in education is working on government contracts. Large numbers of what have been called "quango" (quasi-national-government organizations) have been created to do the work of governments which governments cannot or do not want to do for themselves. These organizations evaluate programs, develop administrative routines and materials, provide technical assistance to operating sites, organize conferences, create information clearinghouses and networks, etc. It must be presumed that they use up some funding that would have been used for more direct support of teaching and learning. Also, they usually perceive the nature of education from an administrative viewpoint, stressing performance indicators, uniformity of aim and procedure, and the importance of the central government role in the conduct of education.

Such economic circumstances, and the political ones mentioned next, change the expectations of what schools are, exert subtle and sometimes not so subtle pressure on teachers, and limit the exercise of local control.

Politicalization of Education

As the overall largest consumer of tax funds, the schools could not escape the politicalization of American life in this period. The war in Vietnam, Watergate, terrorism (including assassinations and hijacking) encouraged everyone to worry about what happens when the public trust is held behind closed doors. School doors were no more closed than they had been when the citizenry had sat at desks within, but political sensitivities had been pricked, and the shortcomings of schools increasingly became something more than parent-teacher business, but government and media business. As said before, it was all part of our developing social ethic in those decades.

All the while there was a continuation of the commitment to a "national destiny," to be "number one," to outdo the Communists, to eradicate poverty and disease, to rise to the limits of our potential--collectively, nationally, not in the spirit of liberty and personal uniqueness, but in a "love it or leave it" yearning and Vince Lombardi tradition. As long as each child had a part of that destiny, then each child should submit to a common set of standards, minimum competencies, basic tasks, the elements, the building blocks of social responsibility. The tasks had their educational relevancy, to be sure, but the attainment of the tasks was easily misread as educational worthiness.

It probably is not true that teachers are less concerned about the socialization of youngsters in 1980 than they were in 1950. Perhaps school teachers always have said: pay attention to the assignment, complete all the work assigned, do "your own" work, keep busy, do it the way it's done in the book, and so on. That certainly still is the line in classrooms all across America. This socialization aim has not deteriorated, though the success of these

admonitions is often not apparent. But television showed that the work-ethic is not all that important, "heroes" don't go by the book--in fact they flaunt it, etc. Teachers are frustrated, as are parents, in their efforts to constrain and direct student learnings. Some have given up. Most have not.

In an urban science classroom, we saw a teacher demonstrating a sensitive balance, showing that even pennies weigh different amounts. When the second class gathered 'round, the pennies were missing. The lesson was disrupted while other pennies were found.

The price pedagogy pays is difficult to set, but it is real. The courts require all kinds of children to be attending school together in the same classroom. The teacher scales down his or her goals, substitutes a recitation for a demonstration, prepares the students for a test rather than relating a concept to personal experience.

Parents, distressed, want more from their schools. Legislatures pass restrictive legislation such as the Stull Act and Hart Act in California, hoping that permissive teachers will be driven out, and that tough teachers will be reinforced. Critics demand more evidence that the schools are "producing" something, as if education were a color television set. And educators voice those same concerns, in many places more vigorously than anyone else, partly in self-protection, but partly because they too are unhappy with what the schools have become.

Quality of Education

The schools are part of many problems that reflect an increasingly affluent, indulgent society.

Several seventeen-year old boys and girls sit in the shade during noon hour. A boy picks up a gum wrapper, wads it, tosses it in the face of a nearby girl. She smiles and shoots it back. Another girl watches, amused--but not entirely. She carries his child.

School people do not know how to deal with the perplexities of our society, not even with the shortcomings of our courses of study. Given the conditions prevailing in their classrooms, they do not know a way to improve the teaching and learning there. Perhaps some other teachers would, but the teachers now employed more or less are the ones who will be there during the 1980s. Most teachers would argue, with some validity, that the schools are pretty good, but they could be much better, if only . . .

Most readers will agree that the conditions in our schools need improvement, that our problems in school are closely linked with the problems of our society, and that local control of the schools has diminished. What many find difficult to accept is that the yielding of local control to corporate control has contributed substantially to the problems. Many think that uniform standards and minimum performance criteria have not yet been tried, and that relief lies in that direction.

They have been tried, and the results are dismal. Educational accountability systems have been initiated in more than half the states and in many of the larger school districts. A few promises are still being voiced as to what difference this will make, and some administrators or technicians are claiming signs of success, but such talk has greatly abated. The realistic expectation for getting worthwhile information for the improvement of teaching and learning is very low.

What happens when a district decides to impose uniform standards and minimum performance requirements? Educators and laymen try to identify some most basic and critical learnings. They agree on a few things, usually so general that no curricular arguments are raised. They develop a small number of test items having face validity for representing the critical learnings. No one supposes that these items stand for an education, or for even some abstract minimum expectation, but only that the test score would correlate positively. If a lot of fuss is made about student performance on the tests, then the teachers emphasize those particular lessons which are most likely to produce good test scores. With enthusiasm or reluctance, the teachers go along with the system, departing sometimes from what they think is the best instruction to satisfy the present demands. It is no surprise to anyone that there is not a great correspondence between what is emphasized in preparing students for the test and what is considered vital understanding for educated human beings. The tests orient to the simplest of skills, even trivial learnings.

After students master skills at one level they are to master skills at the next. Skill testing follows skill testing. Always they are being prepared for something that seems never to come. They emerge from this sort of preparation only on graduation day. They by then have had little (formal) practice using the skills in complex situations--organizing, synthesizing, evaluating their learnings. Those skills not practiced, even when once "mastered," are forgotten. Teachers know that if youngsters are going to think critically, creatively and substantively, they need to have opportunities to think those ways day in and day out, and certainly not just at recess and at home.

There are, of course, some schools in which a present chaos can be reduced by a more mechanical "training" approach. There are many individual students who need a more skill-oriented program of studies. These decisions are best made at the school, the room and the child level. Right now, other options are less available because of the many pressures on school people to conform to a corporate form of school operation.

We probably would be better off with less subordination of the education purposes of schools to economic and political purposes of the country. The schools need more help with their formal mission, to provide educational opportunity. It might help to formalize two "rights": the right of a parent to the kind of teaching he or she wants for his or her child; and the right of a student to a learning situation where other students are ordinarily serious about (at least tolerant of) academic learning. Current priorities would have to change to accommodate those rights, and the most likely way of getting those changes would be to re-establish the standing of local control.

It is a difficult thing, probably, for government people to accept the idea that the most responsible thing to do is to exercise less direct responsibility, to be greatly concerned and supportive without specifying the

improvements to be made. But education today needs just that, the opportunity and the responsibility for local schools, for teachers in the classrooms, for citizens in a neighborhood, to run their own schools.

The argument here is not that national needs are less important than local needs. Some of our nationally recognized social advances in the past thirty years may have justified less consideration of general education. Needs at either level can be wrong. Vietnam (a national commitment) was wrong. Segregated schools (a local commitment) were wrong. Social advance has occurred often because we forced federal protections into local communities. We continue to need the corporate conscience and pocketbook. But right now demands from state, federal and district levels are diminishing the contributions of the schools without justifiable educational, economic or political recompense.

To support local initiative will take more than ordinary federal leadership. It might mean that busing to achieve racial proportionality would have to yield to guaranteed access to a school of the parents' choice. It might mean that tenured teachers that parents do not want would have to be guaranteed a corporate assignment (something akin to what we did with soil banks). To restore the curricular integrity of school will probably require creative and costly federal support.

We should be guided by the fact that we have shown that we can educate our youth. It works best when people close at hand make the decisions, without standards set from afar. In the 1980s, as in the 1950s, local control should be a national priority.

EDUCATION IN THE EIGHTIES:

THE CASE FOR OPTIMISM

by

Stephen K. Bailey
Professor of Education & Social Policy
Harvard Graduate School of Education
Harvard University

(169)

Things educational have gotten bizarre in their complexity. Let me carry you back a half-century.

I grew up in the Newton, Massachusetts school system. Samuel Paul was the Principal of the Mason School--the elementary school that dominated the very center of Newton Center. I have no idea how frequently Samuel Paul saw his superintendent or what they discussed. But I had the feeling as a child that Samuel Paul was to Mason School what I then believed King George V was to Buckingham Palace or what Calvin Coolidge or Herbert Hoover were successively to the White House: Lord of all they surveyed. If we pupils caused trouble, we were sent to Mr. Paul's office. Normally he was a kindly fellow with a shiny bald head. But he could be a terror. He had a nervous habit of hitching up his pants with his elbows while simultaneously harrumphing. This was always a prelude to his "Wrath-of-God" act which, in the worst cases, involved a ruler across the knuckles or a belt strap across the rear end. He frequently visited classrooms and stood pensively in a back corner surveying the pedagogic scene and making mental notes of the ambience. Occasionally pupils overheard him lecture a teacher on tardiness or lack of preparation. The Mason school always seemed prosperous. It was orderly. Truants were harshly dealt with. Acts of disrespect or violence were tantamount to

suspension or dismissal by Mr. Paul's edict. Homework was expected and parents as well as kids were held accountable for its being done on time.

There was no federal aid; no handicapped or OSHA regulations; no privacy laws; no court rulings on behalf of pupils' due process; no unions; no school closings; no drugs (although occasionally there were traces of cigarette smoke in the boys' john); no affirmative action regulations; no unexcused absences; no community advisory councils; no decremental budgets and consequent teacher lay-offs; no eighth-grade pregnancies. Aside from an annual visit by the Mayor, an annual patriotic presentation by the local Commander of the American Legion on Memorial Day, periodic vaccinations by visiting nurses, and the saving-stamp machine of the Newton Center Savings Bank in the school foyer, there was almost a complete sense of school self-containment. We saw cops at crossings but never inside the building. The Fire Chief gave a safety talk once a year to the teachers, but this always seemed to us a pretty dull affair because the Chief wore an officer's cap and well-polished black shoes instead of the battle helmets and clumpy rubber boots that made warrior firemen contemporary embodiments of King Arthur's knights.

Perhaps most important of all, there seemed to be a general expectation that learning was important, that schools existed to stimulate it, and that all kids would master at least the three R's

by the end of the eighth grade. After that--as God had obviously willed--Italian kids would some day become day laborers; Irish kids would go to the technical high school and finally become mechanics, truck drivers or politicians, and the rest of us would go to a classical high school followed by Dartmouth or, in the case of a few intellectual females, Mt. Holyoke.

It was a marvelously ordered class system agreed to, at least tacitly, by almost everyone. All the time I was in the Mason School there was only a single black. Her name was Almira Samuda. In Miss Morgan's first grade class I called Almira a "nigger." Miss Morgan talked to me severely and sent home a note. I was smartly spanked because according to my father I had been unkind--at the time a slightly perplexing if memorable event. The next day I told Almira Samuda I was sorry. So much for middle-class race relations in Newton, Massachusetts in the early 1920s.

Although I was not aware at the time I have been aware since that the 1920s were years of business optimism, behavioral experimentation, speakeasies, and national smugness. This was before the national humiliation of the great depression and the heady and sophomoric notion that big government could fix all things. It was before the searing tragedies of World War II, Korea and Vietnam; before the apex of faith in science and education in the 1950s and 1960s, and the shattering of that faith in the

late '60s and '70s--a faith shattered by the growing realization that what is essentially wrong with us is a moral and intellectual flabbiness and a resource profligacy that can be cured only by self discipline, by creative and productive efforts, and by a new sense of social responsibility.

It is scarcely to be wondered that Cassandras dominate the present mood of America and our present educational system. We have ground out a lot of history in the past five or six decades--and much of it has been sullen (wars, depressions, profligacy, inflation, terrorism, energy crises, run-away technology). We are now caught up in the ebbtide of the great waves of faith in education and in knowledge itself that hit its peak in the mid '60s.

But if we were then too buoyant, too sure, too optimistic, we are surely too discouraged, too doubtful, too pessimistic now. We should take pride and comfort in what we have learned in the past several years. Furthermore, there are new green shoots coming out of every nook and cranny of the world if we only take the pains to look carefully.

What of lasting value have we learned from the experience of the past several decades?

First of all, we have learned that distant events have proximate effects. American Presidents do not chase around to Vienna and Tokyo and Mexico City for the fun of it. They go to

those exotic places because that is where the important action is-- action that will mightily affect the health and well being of Americans in New Orleans, and Seattle, and Hiram, Ohio and Columbia, Missouri. Similarly, educators' links (directly or indirectly) to state capitals and to Washington, D.C. have increased a thousand fold in the past twenty years. Unlike some school people earlier in the century, educational administrators are not Lord of all they survey. What they do is conditioned and shaped by a hundred distant influences: court decisions, federal laws and regulations, reporting requirements of state education departments, state-wide minimum competency laws, state and national bargaining rules, state tax laws and referenda. If educators are not to be victimized by these distant forces, they have to play the educational game as American Presidents play the international game. They have to figure out ways to influence influentials in distant settings. Occasionally they have to use a hot line to their professional associations.

If educators have really internalized these propositions of connectiveness, they have learned one of the major lessons of our time. The crisis of maturity in a profession is not unlike the switch from adolescence to adulthood in individuals. Suddenly, life is cluttered with consequential relationships that extend in ever widening concentric circles to distant horizons. It is a world, as Michael Oakeshott once reminded us, "inhabited by others besides ourselves who cannot be reduced to mere reflections of

our own emotions."

So Optimistic Proposition #1 is that we are growing up. Educators are far less likely to be caught by Starwar surprises emanating from other political and administrative galaxies that they were even a few years ago. If their distant-early-warning-radar screens and their political laser beams need further perfecting, at least they recognize the problem.

Second, with all of the taudry complexity of modern bureaucratic life in education, some extraordinary things have happened in the past three decades that only the least generous among American educators could rue. The fact is that the hard shell of caste and class that had existed since Colonial times in large parts of our nation has been cracked beyond repair in the last quarter of a century. However far we as a nation still have to go, minorities, women, the young, the old, and the handicapped, are finally being brought, in Winston Churchill's great words, "under the protective umbrella of the Constitution." This extraordinary happening--the explosive extension of the concept of fairness in our society--is fraught with unpredictable, uncomfortable, sometimes bizarre consequences. It affronts the comfortable--often hidden--class system that in older days offered ditch-digging to Italians and Dartmouth to WASP's. But it is an extraordinary moral triumph. It changes the definition of schooling from sorting to universal opportunity. That the in-baskets and

telephone lines of educators are loaded with clinical problems related to the implementation of the new equities should be viewed by them as a kind of mid-wifery. In the context of considerable pain, blood, and anguish, they are helping a new world--a new freedom--to be born.

This seems to me a second cause for optimism--even though the struggle will at times be sufficiently attenuated to dull one's sense of immediate accomplishment.

Third, I cannot help but feel that we are coming to the end of a decade of educational slobbery. Standards are once again becoming respectable. Whatever the perversities of decramental budgets--fewer real bucks next year than last--they can be used to separate the frivolous from the serious in curricular offerings. I am not referring here only to the back-to-basics movement--basics defined in terms of the traditional three-R's. There are, in fact, some very worrisome aspects to this movement. Unless we are careful, we can turn out high school graduates who have been trained to recognize words, manipulate numbers, and write a simple declarative sentence, but who are completely incapable of a level of thought, feeling, and action needed for personal and social survival in the twenty-first century. The new concern with standards should infuse and infect all learning in all courses at all levels--in the arts and literature, in math and consumerism,

in history and social studies, in science and language, in physical education and vocational education. For those educators faced with a high degree of turbulence and violence and disrespect in their schools--conditions that presently preclude learning of any kind, the thought of raising standards in the near future may seem fanciful and Quixotic. But there is a growing public impatience with deviant behavior, and a growing willingness to try new combinations of humane discipline, occupational carrots, and national service to give young people a heightened motivation to take schooling seriously.

These, then, seem to me causes for optimism: the growing maturity of educators about the inter-connectedness of things, their increasing realization of the revolution in fairness that presently permeates our society; and a growing impatience with laxity, in all walks of life, but especially in education.

But are there evidences that schoolmen and women are acting on the basis of these triple manifestations of optimism? There are indeed. Here is a sample of what is happening--some of the green shoots that are coming up all around us.

First of all, there is good news about the educability of poor kids--especially blacks and Hispanics. For a dozen years we heard little but doom and gloom from those who reviewed the evidence on compensatory education. The Coleman Report; the

writings of Jencks, Moynihan, and others; the findings of Jensen; the Westinghouse study on Head Start; the MES Evaluation in New York City; and a myriad other analyses seemed to prove that low-achieving minorities do not respond educationally to the infusion of new money and new pedagogic stratagems.

In July 1978, the National Institute of Education issued a mammoth study of compensatory education. The study found, mirabile dictu that federal money targeted on poor children actually went to where poor kids lived: central cities, rural areas, and places with high proportions of minority group children. Although Title I constitutes 3 percent of all spending on elementary and secondary education on a national level, it may account for a third of the funding in the very poorest school districts.

But so what? Has this additional and targeted money made any difference in learning? NIE's findings document that compensatory instruction can have a considerable effect on learning. Overall results show that aided children made significant achievement gains. First graders in the study made average gains of twelve months in reading and eleven months in mathematics during a seven month period. Title I is not effective everywhere but the results do indicate that school districts can create the conditions necessary to make compensatory instruction effective.

The NIE evaluation is buttressed by the seminal work of Benjamin Bloom and his associates at Chicago. In his experiments in "Mastery Learning" he and his colleagues have discovered that most children--all but the most severely mentally limited--can achieve criterion-referenced standards in basic skills if they are given suitable diagnostic services and remedial exercises.

As Patricia Graham has pointed out recently, we now know that the major culprit in the poor learning of the poor is not their genes, but family background, lack of expectations on the part of teachers and administrators for students to achieve, a curriculum that makes few demands on students, and inadequate demands on students to complete what they have been assigned.

Experiments all over the nation are providing cogent answers to these failures:

Item: Boise, Idaho develops a structured tutoring program using fifth and sixth grade students to tutor second and third grade learners.

Empirical evidence indicates that math and reading skill deficient children can make major gains using trained student tutors.

Item: Minneapolis establishes basic skill centers for functional illiterates in grades 4 through 9.

A multi-media approach is used including teaching machines and individualized instruction. Students make cognitive gains well above what would have been

expected for average children working at the reading levels of the measurement tests.

- Item: Cleveland enriches and extends the school year for 1500 children from five elementary schools. The program includes teacher-parent conferences and special arrangements. Learning results: positive.
- Item: The Guggenheim Museum in New York experiments with a childrens' program: learning to read through the arts. The program encourages individual creativity as well as proficiency in reading.
- Item: The University of Pittsburgh R & D Center increases academic performances through the use of pupil self-evaluation--demonstrating that children can perform at a high level while sharing responsibility for managing their own behavior.

As John Gardner said, "Little bits and pieces of the educational revolution are lying around only waiting to be put together."

In the second place, there are other kinds of green shoots of a pedagogic nature. The work that Julian Stanley and others are doing with the mathematically gifted; the work of Patricia Krue and others in educating the mentally handicapped; the work of Ira Finkel in developing imagination and creativity in children;

Jeanne Chall's seminal work in the teaching of reading.

A check of references in ERIC or letters addressed to NIE will give educators scores of examples of fruitful and heuristic experiments that can be adapted and adopted in schools--helping educators to respond positively and creatively to insistent expectations of parents and taxpayers that schooling become more effective.

WCET-TV (not WKRP) Cincinnati has successfully articulated television and videotape with regular teaching to the enrichment of the curriculum and the improvement of student motivation and performance.

Third, there are increasing numbers of non-pedagogic, logistical, support-service green shoots. Take the case of the Timonium Elementary School in Maryland--the first school in the United States to be heated with solar energy. The experiment began on March 1, 1974. From March 1 to May 15 the wing of the school fitted out with solar equipment received 90 percent of its heat from the solar heating system. Over 1200 gallons of fuel oil were saved. Many professional journals in educational administration carry articles and announcements of similar developments: new ways to achieve fuel economy, new economy through central purchasing, more efficient and economical bus routes, etc. Alas, most of the time educators lack time, energy,

staff, or other resources to follow up on such leads, to adapt them, and to adopt them.

But this leads me to my most central cause for optimism. A point made earlier but something that needs underlining: an emerging sense that no one else is going to do it for the local administrator and teacher. For years local educators have assumed that committed parents, or the State Education Department, or the Ford Foundation, or the Federal government would bring manna from Heaven--and that there would be more manna *manana* than today or yesterday. They know now, however, that resources are diminishing, that external aid brings regulation, that the winds of education are no longer at their backs.

Years ago Gordon Gray, then a high official in the Department of Defense, had on his desk a sign that read: "If I could kick the guy responsible for nine-tenths of my troubles, I would not be able to sit down for a week." Educators are now growing up. It is painful to live without the illusions of Santa Claus, and without the comfortable assurance that someone somewhere else can be viewed as the real villain. But there is a marvelous buoyancy in growing up--a knowing that if we fall off the bicycle it is mostly our fault. This does not imply that the stinginess and unreasonableness of others may not on occasion be contributing factors to the malfunctioning of our schools. It does not mean that

schools can suddenly and easily make up for the deprivations and angers that kids import from their homes and from the streets. It does mean, however, that teachers and administrators first search for creative answers rather than scapegoats. Sometimes creative answers involve transplanting green shoots from other experimental settings. Sometimes they imply a new initiative with a supervisor or a board. Sometimes they must take this form of calling up influentials in the State capital or Washington. Sometimes they involve going public on television and radio or in speeches to the Rotary Club explaining the probable or actual consequences of budget cuts or new tax laws.

Perhaps the most essential task is explaining patiently and systematically to parents, officials, and taxpayers what schools are for and what they can and cannot do.

During the Battle of Britain, Winston Churchill was once asked by an old lady in tennis shoes why Britain fought. He replied, "Madam, you would find out if we stopped." What if our public schools stopped? What if the buildings were all torn down and the administrators and instructional staff dismissed? They would be reinvented in a flash--to perform day care functions for working parents, to serve as civic centers and polling places, to provide cultural and competitive excitement in communities, and of course most essentially to give young people the intellectual skills and the career and aesthetic dexterities needed for coping.

for earning a living, for self-fulfillment, and for responsible citizenship. In recent years, schools have been given additional mandates: they have become health dispensaries, food dispensaries, racial laboratories, career counseling centers, adult education emporia, community gymnasiums. All of these are or can be rationalized as educationally related. But someone must explain that if budgets are cut year after year, school priorities must be set. Other institutions in the community can be asked to assume responsibility for some of the functions now being carried out by the schools. But no other institution in the community is capable of developing the cognitive functions which are the heart of the educational mission. This is what must be defended against all comers and against all peripheral claimants. Teachers and school administrators are the ultimate defenders of the faith--the faith in intellectual nurture, in the essentiality and the promise of the reasoning powers of Homo Sapiens.

The ultimate cause for optimism is not that our problems will disappear. Some will get worse. Some, like the battles over school closing, will largely dwindle and disappear by the middle of the '80s. But other grinding issues will take their place. The real cause for optimism is our own growing maturity, our unwillingness to be intimidated, our recognition that complexity is in fact negotiable. And educators will have help. The educational labor market in the '80s will be sufficiently soft so

that few appointments made to schools and school systems can all be Renaissance geniuses. Nevertheless, there will be extended periods of darkness.

Let me conclude with a story related to me some years ago by J. Nyquist, the distinguished former Commissioner of Education of New York State. There was a famous dark day in New England in 1780 when the sun scarcely appeared at all. Thousands of people took it for the end of the world. Among them were many in the Connecticut Assembly in which Colonel Abraham Davenport was sitting. It was proposed that the Assembly adjourn. Colonel Davenport said, "The Day of Judgment is either approaching or it is not. If it is not, there is no reason for adjournment. If it is, I chose to be found doing my duty. I wish therefore that candles may be brought."

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**Policy Considerations
for
Education in the 1980's**

by

**I. C. Candoli, Department of Administration,
Foundations, and Higher Education, Univ. of Kansas**

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and Vocational Education
The Honorable Carl D. Perkins, Chairman**

(186)

Policy Considerations for Education
in the 1980's

by I. C. Candoli

Introduction

The decade of the 1970's saw great change in the institution called education. For the first time in the history of the republic, the demographic data signalled a downturn in the numbers of clients to be served. This reality, in and of itself, caused considerable traumas for it implied a completely different policy parameter.

In addition, the parallel emergence of strong teacher organizations, politically active and informed minority groups, an aroused and demanding citizenry, and a constant and accelerating inflationary spiral merely served to exacerbate the situation. The turmoil gave birth and credence to a variety of protest movements directed at the institution, its programs, and at the rate of local tax support required for education. It also forced increased participation at both the state and federal levels in terms of financial and other support for local educational programs.

The purpose of this paper is not to evaluate the desirability and effectiveness of existing federal/state support but rather to develop policy implications for consideration by the Congress as the debate about federal support continues. At issue is the survival of Public Education in the United States. Program technologies are and will be abundantly available. Whether these technologies will be made equitably and fairly available to all members of our society is a major issue to be addressed by the Congress.

The Educational Institution as a Mirror of Society

The school systems of the United States do reflect the social system that spawned them. Events of the past decade have produced changes in the Educational Institutions that are directly related to the societal changes that occurred. Examples of such response are very evident as one examines the recent operational decisions that have impacted the Public School systems of the country. Following are a few of the many examples that could be cited.

1. Expansion of E.S.E.A. and other federal programs. This enforces the concept of education being important to the "general welfare of the United States." Recent and continuing efforts to change the eligibility for participation in E.S.E.A. Title I reflect the shifting political power base from the city to the suburbs. While the move is presently a subtle one, the long range implications for citizens of the inner city are dramatic and somewhat frightening.
2. The "Back to Basics" movement. The furor created by the test score flap ignores several important realities, including the dramatically enlarged segment of the population actively engaged in the educational process. The pressure to more highly centralize educational decisions, to more rigidly standardize curricula, and to develop a national program of education has been immeasurably assisted by this movement.
3. The dramatic increase in educational expenditures as a result of substantial gains in the salary structure for educational personnel. The seemingly insatiable demands spewing forth from the organized cadre have spawned and nurtured "anti-school tax" groups and have encouraged attacks on the public school system.

4. The decline in the school age population and enrollment leading to a demographic reality that a majority of the American public have no direct affiliation with the public schools further reinforces the level of resistance to the public school system.
5. The perplexity of having an accelerating inflationary spiral, an increasing unemployment rate, and an economic recession proceeding at the same time further reinforces resistance to increases in public education expenditures.
6. Emerging legal decisions requiring increased state support for educational expenditures and the subsequent domino effect for increase in federal support also contribute to resistance to public education.
7. The manpower and educational needs of the country and the effect of these needs on the school programs are sources of concern to many.
8. The general mistrust and distrust of all institutions that grew to frightening proportions during the political machinations and systematic distortion of facts that took place during the early 1970's. Subsequent findings of continuing abuse by various agencies and institutions have maintained the public hostility toward government and toward existing institutions.
9. The increased bureaucratization and heightened centralization of most institutions as a reaction to the abuse of privilege and responsibility that had occurred has encouraged the isolation of decision makers from those who are effected by those decisions and has further tested the credibility of public institutions.

10. The difficult and traumatic consequences of implementing federal law, i.e. equity, due process, Brown, etc. has further alienated the citizenry from the public school institution.

These and other societal realities have had great impact on the public school systems of the United States. Demands, far out of proportion to the need, have complicated the existence of local school districts. The realization that the local school is fair game for those who wish to build a political power base has created pressures from competing political ideologies for control of the system(s).

The Problems of Institutional Credibility

Local school systems being, at the same time highly visible and among the most naive and powerless of the public institutions have suffered the pangs of the credibility gap as severely as any agency of government. Because of the political immaturity of the institution, the public school system has become the repository of blame for every ill that exists in these United States. Problems as diverse as the decline in basic achievement to the need for better utilization of school lunch programs are laid at the doorstep of the Local Education Agency. Concurrently, the power to make decisions that effect those concerns are deposited at the state and/or federal levels. The result is a hodge-podge of rules and regulations that serve to protect the besurocracy while ignoring the needs of the client.

What have been the contributing causes to the existing credibility issue? Included are:

- a) The increasing complexity of American society. The urbanization of the country and the parallel move toward a contractual society have served to weaken those institutions that were predicated on familial or-

ganizational patterns. This pressure has encouraged the increase of bureaucratic structures needed to promulgate and administer the multitude of rules necessary to operate a society based on contractual relationships. Strict adherence to formal and written regulations precludes any great attention to individual differences and needs. To an organization that is intended to serve human needs, this is a distortion of purpose.

b) The technological revolution has burst upon our society without a parallel growth in human understanding and tolerance. The exact sciences have far outstripped the capacity of the social sciences to prepare members of the society to understand and appreciate the technological advances. Most public institutions, including education, are several decades behind the state of the art in terms of technological development and cannot respond to the increasing sophistication needed to remain relevant.

c) A realization on the part of Americans that there is a flaw in the previously unwritten law that "bigger is better". The powerful and sometimes irreversible force that has given birth to the awesomely strong and narrowly focused institutions of the United States has not permitted the realization of the American dream for all. Rather, the delicate balance of power needed to stabilize our society has given birth to big business and big labor organizations. In an effort to provide the stabilizing influence government has also become large and cumbersome. The rules and regulations spawned by this drive toward hugeness have served to enmesh all institutions with such a deluge of paper that America is in danger of sinking under the weight of the very forms generated to resolve its problems.

d) The strong and pervasive desire for control that has often blurred the purpose of a particular institution. The need that caused the birth and growth of the governance structures needed to organize and pro-

vide services for the citizens has somehow become skewed and virtually uncontrollable. While professional managers (bureaucrats) are necessary to the smooth flow of services, the prevailing and unchecked power of such structures ignores the original purpose for their creation. Such institutions, while originated to serve the public need, somehow became self-serving and work toward self-aggrandizement and increased power over the very persons they are designed to serve. The resulting loss of concern for the client (citizen) gives birth to the large and increasing credibility gap now being felt by public institutions in the United States.

Given the validity of the foregoing and the resulting force toward extreme centralization that has been manifested during the decade of the 1970's, what are some implications for public policy in terms of elementary/secondary education needs in the United States? Is it possible to provide a milieu in which the needs of a nation can be served by addressing the educational needs of individual citizens? Is it possible that a system of public education, developed and designed to serve individual needs, can also be held accountable to the goals and objectives of the state and nation? Can the trust relationships needed to permit such educational programming be developed and nurtured?

Attempts to resolve these and other related issues will provide the major focus for educational policy in the 1980's. It is the opinion of the writer that a serious attempt to address the centralization/de-centralization dichotomy with policy developed to encourage the decision-making power to be located at the point where students are served (the building) will enable a major resurgence in the effectiveness and importance of the educational institution.

Re-conceptualizing the Purpose of Education

Recognition of the general welfare importance of education and of the legal mandate for the various states to provide education for its citizens must be tempered with the reality of individual needs and desires. Survival of the democratic form of government is predicated on the strength inherent in diversity and not on creating everyone out of the same mold. Commitment to state and national goals is crucial but the mechanism for achieving those goals should and must be developed at the local level with local needs, strengths, resources and weaknesses giving birth to particular programs. The misconception that everything is alike in these United States is a terrible mistake and will lead to a self-defeating national curriculum. Student needs must have a major impact on local curriculum.

As an example, the Congress has repeatedly asserted that a literate, well informed, well educated citizenry is crucial to the general welfare of the United States. The Congress has also provided financial support to generate progress toward the National Goal of Literacy. Through the Office of Education, the Congress has requested State plans to meet this National Educational Goal. The State plans became the basis for allocation of resources to the various states and through the states to the various Local Education Agencies (L.E.A.). The concept is rational, well conceptualized and theoretically workable. The harsh reality, however, is that it largely ignores the level at which education takes place - the building level. Recognition of the importance of the building has belatedly come with the requirement that Title I Parent Advisory Groups be created at each building, but all too often these groups are merely rubber stamps for a centrally drafted program of education.

The realization that groups of students don't learn but that individual students do has somehow been ignored in the myriad of laws, rules, regulations, and interpretations that spew from the many tiers of governance that parents and students must face. This writer submits that only when parents, students, and staff work together to identify and meet local educational needs in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect under the leadership of a caring and knowledgeable principal, will the individual learning needs of students be met. The local unit (building) must have the capacity to prioritize needs, to develop specific programs, to select appropriate materials, and to provide the necessary methodology to deliver the programs to the clients.

The Congress, through educational legislation, has established a number of National Educational Goals with Literacy being among them. The various states, in turn, have expanded State level educational goals to include not only the National Goals but other important educational considerations as well. These State Goals become the parameters under which local Boards of Education establish educational policy defining the local curriculum. Typically, curriculum requirements are established such that every school in a particular L.E.A. has its total program prescribed from a remote central office that has little or no appreciation for the particular situation existing in any building. Increasingly, these decisions are being subsumed at the state Department of Education level and even beyond at the U.S. Office of Education level. Parenthetically, surveys done by pollsters and researchers show that the highest degree of public confidence and support for education rests at the building level and that the more removed from the building a decision is made, the more suspect it is.

It is important, in view of the tremendous impact possible via the educational process, to utilize the events of the past two decades as guides in the re-structuring of the educational system to capitalize upon the strengths as perceived by the people; while, at the same time, meeting the state and National Educational Goals. Very loudly and clearly, the message is that greater reliance, power, support, and resources must be placed at the building level with an accompanying general reduction in "top down" pronouncements, rules, regulations, and interference. The school house, as the point of contact between the educational system and the student, must become the focal point of decisions concerning program, student needs, educational planning, and distribution of scarce resources. All other level of the bureaucracy must perform support, monitoring, evaluation, and planning functions. The ultimate decision as far as program needs for the individual student is concerned, rests with the persons charged with the primary instructional responsibility - those staff members located at the school of attendance.

The Centralization/De-centralization Dichotomy

One of the dilemmas inherent in a rapidly changing society is the pressure for increased control and centralization that occurs. In the United States the transition from an agrarian to an industrial to technological society has been accompanied by expanded and multi-layered governance structures. As the services needed and provided grew; the rules, regulations, and regulatory bodies also grew. It is now time to carefully review and define which functions, roles, and duties are best performed at a highly centralized level and which functions, roles, programs, and services are best delivered in a de-centralized mode.

For example, in education those services and actions that lend themselves to routine and mechanized activity are most efficiently and effectively accomplished on a highly centralized basis. Such activities as payroll, purchasing, data processing, custodial and maintenance services, transportation, food services, warehousing, and similar tasks can be most cost effective if done on a very highly centralized basis. Most of the fore-mentioned tasks deal with materials and things rather than with the human variable. Mechanization and routinization lead to more effective use of resources and to lower unit costs thereby freeing a larger portion of a school budget to educational uses.

At the same time, those activities that directly impinge upon the individual student and deal with human needs and educational processes must be de-centralized to the level at which the student and the institution intersect. This, of course, is at the local building level where parents, students, teachers, and principal can cooperatively identify educational needs, develop program priorities, request and allocate resources, and develop an educational plan to resolve the major needs of the clientele. The capacity for such activities must be allocated to the building in order to place appropriate responsibility and accountability so vital to success.

As a response to those who will immediately raise the issue of "control" and of "accountability" for program success, the following model is presented. Given the existence of National Goals, State Goals, and Local Education Agency Goals and Policies; it is not too difficult to imagine these goals as concentric circles within which the local school and classroom operate. Each National, State, and Local Goal can be expressed as a product expectation for students. The building is charged with meeting these expectations. The de-centralized process is not intended to change legis-

latively developed goals and priorities but rather to allow the local unit the flexibility needed in order to develop appropriate processes that can accomplish the desired ends. For example, meeting the National, State, and L.E.A. goal of literacy would entail the development of a building delivery process that identifies the student needs, incorporates staff and community strengths, and requests appropriate support in order to meet the particular objective(s) in reading. It should not be of primary concern to L.E.A., State, and Federal Education officials what methodology, pedagogy, materials, or curriculum is utilized by the local unit. It does, however, matter a great deal that the specific goals and objectives be met with corresponding student growth. Rather than impose specific materials and techniques on a building, the persons at the district, state, and federal levels must assume the posture of "support" staff and assist the local staff in devising appropriate delivery systems that consider unique needs and situations. The urge to direct and control must be sublimated into a posture of genuine assistance and support. It is the opinion of the writer that efforts to accomplish the model suggested above will enable dramatic improvement in the educational attainments of Americans.

Implications for Federal Educational Policy

Efforts must be mounted to define roles at every level of educational governance. It is important that the U.S. Office of Education (or Dept. of Education) establish strong national expectations as an interpretation of Congressional policies. It is equally important that these national expectations (or goals) be viewed as the parameters within which the various states develop state objectives (expectations). In like manner, the various states must establish parameters for local districts and the L.E.A.'s for individual buildings. At each level, i.e. building, L.E.A., S.E.A., and U.S.O.E. plans must be developed that address:

1. The Goals provided by each level of governance, and
2. The responsibility of the particular level toward meeting the goals.

The building as the operational unit must deal primarily with process objectives, i.e. specific actions and activities directed toward L.E.A., S.E.A., and U.S.O.E. goals. Support activities from the L.E.A., S.E.A., and U.S.O.E. must be made available.

The educational plan developed at each level must be monitored (evaluated) at the next succeeding level to guarantee performance. Thus, the L.E.A. evaluates the building on the basis of the building plan; the S.E.A. evaluates the L.E.A. on the basis of the L.E.A. plan and the U.S.O.E. evaluates the S.E.A. on its plan. In this manner, each level has the flexibility to address unique and specific needs but must still move toward the accomplishment of specific goals that are provided to each level as minimal expectations.

The Congress, through P.L. 94-142, has already initiated a powerful force toward programming to meet individual student needs. Reinforcement of that concept by providing the necessary recognition of the building as the repository for the bulk of individual educational program (I.E.P.) activity and by supporting the concept of I.E.P. for all students will give tremendous assistance to the development of building level responsibility.

Extension of the mandate for parent advisory councils to all buildings along with a required local building plan as a vehicle for assessment will dramatically extend the responsibility held at the building level. Accompanying the above must be a decentralized funding concept, i.e. program funds must be allocated directly to building units with the local unit determining the line item allocations.

The writer urges that, at the very least, a number of school systems be identified to participate in a demonstration effort. Further, that those isolated school systems already supporting the concept be among those selected for special assistance for a trial 5-year period.

Rocky Too: The Challenge of Rural Education in the 1980's

by Jonathan P. Sher*

After years of governmental neglect, academic disdain and a legacy of poor leadership and self-doubt within the ranks, rural education is finally picking itself up off the canvas and battling for a place among the nation's priorities for the 1980's.

Tired of being treated like "just another bum from the neighborhood", the rural side of American education is training hard for a shot at restoring rural concerns to their rightful prominence on the local, state, national (and even international) policy agendas for the next decade. The first surprise is that this rural challenge is happening at all. The second surprise is that it's likely to succeed.

This assumption of success is based upon several realities, especially the fact that the "substantive case" for taking rural education seriously is a solid and compelling one. The foundation of this case is built upon the (surprising) size of the rural sector, i.e. the fact that approximately two-thirds of the nation's public school districts, one-half of the public schools, and one-third of the public school students are rural ones. Add to this base the statistics which show that since 1972 the old rural to urban migration trends have reversed (with more and more people now moving into rural areas) — and it becomes obvious that the rural education constituency will be a substantial one for many years to come.

* Dr. Sher heads the rural program within the Center for Educational Research and Innovation of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris, France. He was formerly the Education Director of the National Rural Center and a consultant on rural affairs to numerous local, state, and national organizations. The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of OECD.

Yet, it should be clearly understood that the case for rural education is by no means a strictly numerical one. Whether viewed from the perspective of the magnitude of problems to be solved or the extent to which educational excellence can be fostered among the nation's rural schools, the recent research evidence makes it clear that this sector of American education merits far more attention and resources than has been accorded to it in recent years.

Complementing the substantive case is the happy coincidence that, politically, the rural education movement is both well-timed and in harmony with other important trends not only within the profession but also within the society as a whole. For example, the trends toward more balanced economic and population growth, toward increased rural community organizing in favor of rural schools and toward a heightened awareness of and support for cultural diversity (as well as trends away from the "one best system" and "bigger is better" models of education reform) all reinforce the political support engendered to date through the rural education movement.

Although this renewed assertiveness within the rural sector has only begun to emerge, cracks in the traditional wall of indifference surrounding rural education can already be seen. For example, until very recently the federal government employed no one having a specific mandate to assist (or even keep track of) the nation's rural schools. Now, however, there are a handful of federal officials having rural education-related responsibilities sprinkled among the National Institute of Education, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the U.S. Office of Education. Further, the legislation creating the new U.S. Department of Education explicitly directed that the Assistant Secretary for Vocational and Adult Education take responsibility for rural education matters.

This was the first Congressionally-mandated recognition of and support for rural education in recent years. Despite the suspect

placement with vocational education, this legislation at least removes the grounds for the federal bureaucracy's "its not my job" attitude toward America's rural schools. All of this may amount to no more than tokenism, but it must be remembered first that even tokenism is a step up for rural education and that such treatment is a normal point along the road to more serious involvement.

It should be noted that these breakthroughs are not limited to government departments. For instance, there is now a rural "interest group" within the American Educational Research Association. Similarly, the National Rural Center has an active rural education program. And, most recently, the head of the National School Boards Association publicly committed this key organization to a major push on behalf of rural education both within and beyond the NSBA itself. Important as each of these developments are in their own right, they are perhaps properly viewed as precursors of the rural movement's influence -- as the first sprouts in a field that will come into full bloom during the 1980's.

Ironically, perhaps the most compelling reason for predicting a successful re-emergence of rural education in the U.S. is that this revitalization process is not limited to the U.S. alone. Far from being an exception, the U.S. rural education movement is being closely paralleled by trends and activities in the other Western industrialized nations.

A three-year, twelve-nation study of "basic education and teacher support in sparsely-populated areas" was recently completed by OECD's Center for Educational Research and Innovation. This international project generated fifteen major conclusions which both provide a capsule sketch of what's happened to date in rural education and, more important, a basis for developing sounder rural education policies during the 1980's. The conclusions noted below are listed randomly and no priorities should be inferred.

CONCLUSION N°1: THE PROVISION OF PRIMARY-LEVEL BASIC EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS IS NO LONGER A MAJOR PROBLEM IN MEMBER COUNTRIES

This is not to imply that small rural primary schools are without very real difficulties which need to be resolved. There continues to be ample room for improvement in most rural primary schools and governments should help foster such improvement wherever possible and appropriate. Rather, the point here is that, with rare exceptions, adequate opportunities to receive a basic primary level education in sparsely-populated areas are available in the Member countries.

CONCLUSION N°2: THE PROVISION OF SECONDARY LEVEL EDUCATION IN SPARSELY-POPULATED AREAS CONTINUES TO BE A MAJOR PROBLEM

The problem of access to secondary level educational opportunities, although diminishing, is still a significant issue (particularly in the poorer OECD Member countries). Yet, there are two other major concerns which are prevalent in the participating countries:

- (A) The quality of rural secondary schooling (particularly as reflected in the breadth and depth of curricular offerings and other educational opportunities) is still not consistently high; and
- (B) The inappropriateness of some secondary level programmes (particularly in vocational education) and the shortcomings of conventional strategies for the delivery of rural secondary education (e.g. centralised facilities, boarding arrangements and/or long bus rides).

CONCLUSION N°3: EFFECTIVE EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
OFTEN DOES NOT EXIST FOR SPECIAL NEED POPULATIONS IN RURAL AREAS

Although significant strides have been made in recent years to improve the educational opportunities available to all rural students, the quality and appropriateness of opportunities available to some key rural populations continue to be deficient. The groups most frequently cited as being either underserved or poorly served are:

- (a) The children of indigenous (or native) populations in sparsely-populated areas.
- (b) The children of migrant agricultural workers.
- (c) Girls and young women in rural areas.
- (d) Gifted and talented children.
- (e) Handicapped children.

CONCLUSION N°4: RURAL TEACHER TRAINING AND SUPPORT MECHANISMS
HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVED IN RECENT YEARS

The era in which teachers working in sparsely-populated areas were involuntarily isolated from sources of information and assistance has largely passed in the Member countries. However, there was ample evidence presented which indicates the need to create and/or expand both pre-service and in-service teacher training which is specifically tailored to the needs and concerns of rural teachers.

CONCLUSION N°5: THE ABILITY OF RURAL SCHOOLS TO ATTRACT AND
RETAIN COMPETENT TEACHERS CAN ONLY BE PARTIALLY INFLUENCED
BY POLICYMAKERS

Whether competent teachers come to and remain in sparsely-populated areas is still largely a function of the teacher supply/demand ratio in a given country at a given time. Rural schools tend to be the prime beneficiaries of periods of teacher oversupply and the hardest hit during periods of teacher shortages. Another key determinant of teacher distribution is the attitude toward rural schools held both by the education profession and society as a whole in a particular country. The willingness of competent teachers to accept rural posts is likely to be far greater when such posts are widely regarded as desirable than it is when rural assignments are viewed as a personal and professional dead end. Despite these realities, there are certain concrete measures which governments can implement to improve teacher distribution:

- (A) Ensure that equal economic and professional opportunities exist for rural teachers.
- (B) Begin an active effort to identify and recruit individuals aspiring to be rural teachers.
- (C) Arrange for a greater proportion of student teachers to practice teach in rural settings.
- (D) Improve the quality, availability and appropriateness of rural in-service education.

CONCLUSION N°6: REFORMS WHICH INTENTIONALLY OR UNWITTINGLY
SERVE TO "URBANISE" RURAL EDUCATION ARE LIKELY TO HAVE NEGATIVE
EFFECTS

In case after case, it can be demonstrated that the educational programmes and curricula, reform strategies, and organisational arrangements originally designed for and utilised by school systems in metropolitan areas are inappropriate in rural settings and rarely replicated successfully by rural schools. Clearly there is a pressing need to develop rural schools which reflect and build upon the unique opportunities and natural advantages inherent to them and their communities. Thus, rural schools could incorporate:

- (A) A strong foundation in the teaching of basic skills and essential facts.
- (B) An emphasis on practical skills and learning by doing.
- (C) Training in self-directed study and the development of initiative.
- (D) A focus on the local rural community.
- (E) A commitment to familiarising students with the outside world.
- (F) An emphasis on the options available to rural youths both within and beyond the local community.

CONCLUSION N°7: THE LINKAGES BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES IN SPARSELY-POPULATED AREAS SHOULD BE EXPANDED AND THE BONDS BETWEEN THEM STRENGTHENED

Schools have been (and continue to be) absolutely vital as community institutions as well as educational ones in rural areas. Policies and reforms which restrict the linkages or weaken the bonds between the school and the community are highly counter-productive. In rural areas, schools need the community to supplement and extend their efforts while the community needs the school both as a source of community identity and as a reinforcement of the community's childrearing practices. This active interdependence between community and school is one of the key attributes of rural education. Reforms which sacrifice this relationship have a markedly detrimental effect on all parties concerned.

CONCLUSION N°8: STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT IN RURAL SCHOOLS DOES NOT APPEAR TO FALL SIGNIFICANTLY BELOW THAT OF URBAN STUDENTS

Two qualifications must immediately be added to this conclusion: first, comprehensive and reliable data on the issue of student achievement is generally limited in the participating countries and missing altogether in some; and second, "average" levels of student achievement in both urban and rural areas fall well below desired levels. Still, there was general agreement (and a few

pieces of supporting evidence) that once the effects of I.Q. and social-economic status have been controlled, there are few major differences between urban and rural students in terms of academic achievement.

CONCLUSION N°9: THERE ARE RELATIVELY HIGH COSTS INHERENT IN THE DELIVERY OF NEEDED EDUCATIONAL SERVICES IN SPARSELY-POPULATED AREAS

The reality of high per pupil expenditures in rural schools offering an adequate programme has not changed in recent years. Further these costs are equally visible in centralised as well as decentralised rural schools and in alternative rural delivery systems as well as traditional ones. Population sparsity ensures that rural districts will have relatively high per pupil costs for transportation, specialised programmes and services, administrative overhead, energy, equipment and materials, and the maintenance and construction of school facilities. There are certain minimum fixed costs which schools must bear regardless of their enrollment. Having fewer students over which to spread these costs inevitably means that the per pupil cost will be higher in rural schools. Thus, higher costs which arise as a consequence of this sparsity must be regarded as one of the economic facts of rural life rather than as evidence of wastefulness or as costs which can be erased by stricter expenditure controls.

CONCLUSION N°10: RURAL SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REDUCE THEIR ECONOMIC BURDEN THROUGH THE UTILISATION OF STRATEGIES UNIQUELY SUITED TO THE RURAL CONDITION

As previously noted, there are high costs associated with the delivery of rural educational services in nearly any circumstance. This has been true even when the programmes and services offered are not extensive by urban standards. Although a truism, it is important to note that the costs of providing exactly the same programmes, materials, services and resources in rural schools as are commonly found in urban schools (which coincides with some notions of "equal educational opportunity") would be so prohibitively high that even the wealthiest Member countries lack the necessary funds. Rural schools have been financially able to offer educational programmes and services of at least reasonable breadth and quality by inaugurating such measures as:

- (a) Sharing resources (human, material and financial) with other rural schools.
- (b) The utilisation of extensive parental assistance and in-kind contributions from the rural community.
- (c) Hiring generalists who could perform multiple roles in the schools rather than hiring specialists.
- (d) Promoting individualised instruction and independent study instead of extensive formal course offerings.

- (e) Simply "doing without" sophisticated equipment and expensive facilities.

CONCLUSION No 11: THERE IS NO SINGLE DEFINITION OF "RURAL" OR "SPARSELY POPULATED" EDUCATION WHICH IS MEANINGFUL IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Diversity is a central characteristic of rural communities both within and among participating countries. Given the enormous range of communities, people and circumstances which are present in the sparsely-populated regions of Member countries, the precise meaning of "ruralness" can be rather elusive. We know, of course, that rural communities are characterised by small populations and low population density ratios. However, since "rural" and "sparsely populated" are relative terms, all population and density-based definitions are suggestive rather than absolute. A "sparsely-populated" area in the English context implies something quite different than areas given the same label in Norway or Australia. Similarly, a rural school which would be considered small by U.S. standards would be rather large in the context of rural Finland. The point here is simply that "ruralness", like beauty, lies in the eye of the beholder. Therefore, each country's conception of the meaning of "rural" or "sparsely populated" should be respected and attempts to impose a more global definition resisted.

CONCLUSION N°12: THE RURAL EDUCATION SECTOR IS LIKELY TO REMAIN AS A MAJOR CONSTITUENCY WITHIN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF MEMBER COUNTRIES

There are several trends and circumstances supporting this conclusion (which were discussed in some detail in Part I of this report). These include an alteration of rural to urban migration trends; pressures against centralisation and standardisation in education and other governmental services; dissatisfaction with conventional solutions to the educational problems of SPAs; renewed respect for rural educational models; and concerns about equal educational opportunity. However, one should not lose sight of the more fundamental reality that millions of children are dependent upon rural schools and rural delivery systems for their education during the compulsory years of schooling. By all indications, this fact will not change dramatically in the foreseeable future.

CONCLUSION N°13: LITTLE LASTING AND SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN RURAL EDUCATION WILL OCCUR IN THE ABSENCE OF EXPLICIT AND APPROPRIATE GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES AND ASSISTANCE

The primacy of local circumstance and the value of local initiative must, of course, be remembered and respected. Reform strategies which seek to circumvent local traditions, values and capabilities (rather than building on them) are not likely to succeed. Still, it is equally apparent that rural schools have been, are, and doubtless will continue to be both dependent on governmental assistance

and subject to governmental regulation and/or control. Thus, the willingness and ability of Member governments to exert leadership and act forcefully in ways which enhance and strengthen education within their sparsely-populated areas will have a profound effect on the long-term development of rural children and rural communities.

CONCLUSION N°14: INNOVATIONS IN THE CONTENT AND DELIVERY OF RURAL EDUCATIONAL SERVICES ARE BOTH NECESSARY AND FEASIBLE

For years, the prevailing wisdom in education has been that rural communities and rural schools are so conservative and resistant to change that developing and supporting innovative educational strategies and programmes was hardly worth the effort. The SPA project, particularly through the fourteen special reports previously described, provided a powerful refutation to this bit of conventional wisdom. In fact, there is considerable evidence that rural schools (once convinced of the merits of the proposed innovation) are remarkably able to implement new ideas and can serve as rather splendid laboratories for educational innovation.

CONCLUSION N°15: THE CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH, DATA COLLECTION, AND INFORMATION DISSEMINATION ABOUT RURAL EDUCATION IS NOT IMPRESSIVE AND MUST BE IMPROVED

In an age when people are seriously concerned about "information overloads" the paucity of reliable information and research on rural education is genuinely

startling. In country after country, the most rudimentary data about rural schools, communities, students and teachers is simply not known and/or available. Much was learned through the efforts made by CERI's SPA project, but one of the most lasting impressions on participants was the discovery of just how much more remains to be learned. Research, data collection and information dissemination about rural education must be expanded and upgraded if policy-makers are to have the evidence they need to make informed choices for the future.

As noted at the beginning, rural education in the U.S. (as well as internationally) is fighting for its proper place on the nation's policy agenda for the 1980's. Despite its underdog status, rural education has an excellent chance of winning this battle. After all, the rural education movement enters this fight not only with its own intrinsic strengths but also with an ability to invoke the nation's avowed commitment to educational equity of all children. With strength in the ring and support in the corner, it would be unwise to count out rural education's challenge in the 1980's.

Paul B. Salmon, Executive Director, American Association of
School Administrators

SMALL SCHOOL DISTRICTS' CONCERNS FOR THE 80's

The small school district. American education is finally recognizing its uniqueness. And the problems shared by administrators of those small school districts are also being acknowledged. These districts with fewer students will continue to represent the majority of school districts in the nation. Their needs must be a focus of concern for the 80's.

The American Association of School Administrators (AASA) represents school executives who administer districts of every size in every part of the nation. While keenly aware of its responsibility to serve all districts, AASA in 1978 became especially concerned about the special needs of small districts. For example, burgeoning federal regulations and legal constraints are imposed equally on all districts. But small districts have fewer resources available to respond.

There are approximately 16,000 school districts in the United States. Of these, nearly 7,900 have enrollments of 1,000 students or less. Nearly 15 million students, more than one-third of all kindergarten through twelfth grade students, are enrolled in school districts classified as small.

It is difficult to define what constitutes a small school district. Each state has different parameters for determining the relative size of districts and classifying them according to size. AASA characterizes a small school as any district with 2,000 or fewer students.

Late in the 1970's the small school system began to re-emerge as an institution needing special help. For some years, there was a trend toward consolidation of smaller school districts, which had the effect of increased bussing to adjacent communities where centralized services were offered. Consolidation appears to have reached its peak. Now, a move

maintaining small community schools is becoming more common. In addition, the formation of educational service agencies to provide services to a number of smaller districts has increased the efficiency of operating those systems.

Small school districts outnumber large districts, they have problems which are special and cry for attention. The following concerns are just a few which have been identified:

1. The lack of resources and financial strength in some small school districts limits effectiveness. It is more costly to operate a small school district. Local support is limited but many of the expenses are the same as those of a larger district with a more substantial tax base. Further, many small districts, desperately in need of federal assistance do not have the time, expertise, or "grantmanship" to compete.
2. It is difficult for small school districts to look successful when judged by the same standards used to measure the achievements of larger school districts. A narrower range of program offerings is just one limiting factor.
3. Many small school districts suffer from a lack of "educational equity". When the resources are distributed from federal or state appropriations, the small school districts are often overlooked or do not receive a fair share of available funds. The attention of the media toward urban concerns and state political considerations often works against the small district.

4. Are state and federal representatives sensitive to the needs of smaller districts? Can they relate to the problems and concerns of the administrator of a smaller district? The administrators of small school districts are often cautious of outside help and doubt the credibility of outside "experts" who profess to understand the perspective of the small school district.
5. On-staff expertise to deal with the myriad of problems facing schools requires more technical assistance from educational service agencies or those at the state level. For example, a recent AASA energy use survey showed school districts with under 5,000 enrollment used 12% more energy per square foot than their larger counterparts.

These problems and others are unique to small school districts. But there are also special characteristics of these districts which contribute to their success. They include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. Community involvement in activities and in solving the problems of small school districts is usually great and enthusiastic. The school represents the community and the community reflects a pride citizens feel for their school. This closeness to the community is an element sometimes missing in larger, less personal systems where pupils and citizens often maintain their anonymity. While the cost of generating community support in large districts is sometimes substantial, the community is a more natural part of the everyday life of the small school district.

2. Small schools involve a majority of the students in activities. Students have experiences sometimes denied students in large school districts simply because of the vast numbers of students who must be served.
3. The individual social and emotional needs of a student, as well as his/her intellectual needs, are often recognized and diagnosed more easily in a small school. The relationship between teacher and home is more easily achieved.

The American Association of School Administrators recommends small school districts be recognized and supported in the following ways:

1. Federal resources should be as available to small school districts as they are to larger school districts. Often small schools do not have the personnel or expertise to seek and acquire available outside resources. Assistance should be provided which would enable small school districts to compete for funds on an equal basis with larger school districts. Legislation or regulatory language should specifically provide for equitable distribution of funds by district.
2. Federally mandated programs often place an unrealistic burden on small school districts in the form of strain on an already limited budget, additional paper flow, requirements and demands on a limited number of administrative personnel. This concern should be recognized and special consideration given to small school districts in meeting guidelines and mandates.
3. The positive instructional programs operating in small school districts should be recognized. The AASA Small School District Network is working to identify and publicize the positive

features of small school districts. Support is necessary in order to make this network successful.

4. In approximately 30 states, small school districts are served by educational service agencies. It is urgent that federal and state officials utilize this existing framework to work with small school districts. Communication between the educational service agencies, the state and federal representatives must be enhanced in order to avoid duplicating services or overlooking services not provided. Whenever feasible, legislative and/or regulatory language should make it permissible for educational service agencies to apply for grants on behalf of their member districts.
5. Colleges of Education should provide better training for small school district personnel. The skills necessary to administer and/or teach in a small school district are different from those required in larger districts. Special pre-service education and in-service education should address itself to this problem.

In summary, small school districts are unique. They outnumber large school districts. They have a profound impact on the local community. They should be recognized for their contributions and not penalized for their smallness. Small school districts should be allowed to be successful on their own merit and not because they emulate larger school districts. We should value the contributions of the small school districts and support them through equality of resources and programs, recognition of accomplishment and understanding.

SELECTED NEEDS OF ELEMENTARY/SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN THE 1980's¹

by
A. Craig Phillips, State Superintendent of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Society is becoming increasingly demanding of its public institutions. These demands are especially acute in the public school arena. The public envisions the development and education of all youth who can successfully function and compete in a rapidly changing national and world community. The preparation of all youth regardless of background will be a major challenge which must be addressed by the public schools in the 80's. Although all operational aspects of a public school system must effectively work together to accomplish its purposes, this paper focuses on several select and vital areas that must be given attention if the challenges of the decade ahead are to be successfully met.

The literal explosion in the field of electronic technology in the last decade has produced an astounding number of advancements that affect people, directly or indirectly, in every aspect of their lives. Computer print-outs, reader-printers, micro-processors, computers, and satellites have become commonplace terms in our vocabulary. Reduction in costs has placed electronic hardware on the shelves of the marketplace at a cost within reach of many of our institutions and many of our citizens. Although the machines are now readily available, the effect and application of electronic technology in our lives is continuing to emerge and in its infant stages of development. The effect this resource will have upon public education, in all probability, has not yet been explored as thoroughly as

¹ This paper was prepared at the request of Congressman Carl D. Perkins for the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education for inclusion in a compendium of papers solicited from across the Nation. October 20, 1979.

it should be.

Several questions arise concerning the relationship of electronic technology and public education. What is the potential for using electronic technology in the public education sector? Can public education be improved by incorporating new applications coming out of the field of electronics? Can costs be curtailed by using electronic technology without reducing instructional effectiveness? What structural changes, if any, must be made in the public education delivery system if electronic technology is assimilated into the education structure? These are but a few of the questions that must be responded to and analyzed if decisions are made to extensively incorporate this new resource in the public schools.

A cursory view of the potential for electronic technology in public education triggers a number of intriguing possibilities. Realizing the tremendous capability of computers to handle information quickly and accurately, the possibilities for individualizing learning and instruction seem within our grasp. Instant feedback on the learning progress of students would enable teachers to determine what has or has not been learned, to diagnose learning deficiencies, and to prescribe individual learning programs to remove those deficiencies. The computer's information-handling capabilities could provide print-outs to parents on a timely basis describing students' learning progress and, in addition, could provide suggestions regarding the kinds of help that might be provided in the home by parents. The advances in electronic technology would enable schools to monitor on a continuing basis the learning progress of each student, thereby enhancing maximum development of the learning potential of every student.

Another possible application of electronic technology to public schools is the expansion of instructional materials required in the teaching/learning processes. Although still in its developmental and shakedown phase, the use

of satellites, telecommunications, and computer reader-printers could provide schools with access to the books, films and other visual materials housed in our great libraries and archives. These resources could be drawn upon whenever a particular lesson required their use. This application could put the informational resource materials of the nation at the finger tip of every teacher and student in any public school.

Electronic technology could help educators at all levels of public education to deal more effectively with the data needed in day-to-day operations of schools. Areas of potential application and further development are the completion and updating of myriad reports; the keeping of records upon which funds are allotted; maintaining and controlling inventories; maintaining payrolls, personnel and student files; effectively using achievement data; scheduling classes and buses; monitoring and controlling energy consumption in schools; and conducting meetings via telecommunications hook-ups with education associates and organizations on a local, state and national scale. This is not an exhaustive list by any means, but one which identifies some of the areas that need to be investigated and developed for use in the public schools in the 80's.

Maintaining viable and effective public schools in the next decade will require adequate support and financing of educational programs essential to meeting the learning needs of all students. At a time when there is an increasing demand for adequate and appropriate educational services that assure that every child who enters the schoolhouse door will function as a productive citizen when he/she leaves school, there is also the accompanying and unprecedented challenge to support and finance those programs necessary to meet those public expectations. The range of student needs has expanded because schools are serving more students with more varied backgrounds than

ever before which necessitates the availability of many specialized public school programs. Numerous federal and state mandates require schools to serve all children regardless of the human conditions they bring with them. This is as it should be; however, if this expectancy is to be fulfilled there must be adequate support at the national, state and local levels of government to implement programs that address the requirements of all students.

Although there are many aspects of public school finance that must be rethought, the following possibilities will need our attention over the next decade. Work related to financial equity has begun in many states which assures an appropriate educational program regardless of where a student lives or his/her educational program needs. Resources and leadership have been provided by the Congress and the Office of Education to conduct finance studies at the state level. Excellent reports and recommendations have resulted which point the direction for educational finance reform. Work must continue in this area toward implementing the study recommendations making public school finance reform a reality.

Adequate public education finance will require improved coordination and use of local, state and federal funds which can be targeted in a manner that is responsive to the educational needs of students. Since student needs are not the same nationally, statewide or within school systems, consideration might be directed toward an educational revenue sharing program in which funds are allocated and used to meet documented educational needs unique to the geographical area being served.

Public education finance systems must incorporate some type of cost differential in that some programs will cost more than others because of the particular clientele which the programs are designed to serve. Examples are exceptional children's programs, programs for the disadvantaged, bilingual

studies, and technical and vocational programs. If these programs are to provide the specialized services needed by these students, funding can no longer be established by using a single formula to serve all program areas. The true cost of each program must be determined.

Additional effort must be directed toward streamlining the allocation of categorical funds. Research in this area must be directed toward ways in which student needs can be documented and addressed on a regional and state basis, and fulfill the intent and purposes for which funds have been appropriated by legislative bodies.

In designing and implementing any public education finance reform, due consideration must be given to the influence reform will have upon public school governance. Appropriating public funds to promote the common good and address documented educational needs is necessary, yet the preservation of state and local governance of public education is a principle that must be continued in public education. Without the responsibility for public education vested in states and local communities, citizens' support for their schools would substantially diminish. The challenge in school finance reform is to assure financial equity for all students and, at the same time, maintain state and local decision-making and responsibility for public education.

New initiatives must be developed and implemented in the area of career and vocational education. New career opportunities and jobs are rapidly expanding and providing greater career options from which our youth must make choices. To assist students in this part of their educational development, it is essential that more emphasis be placed on developing and implementing effective vocational counseling programs that guide students in making appropriate career choices and assist them in actual job placement. With the advent of new types of jobs in the labor market, it is important that the vocational skill training offered in the public schools is up-to-date in

providing youth with the skills needed to successfully function on the job. In accomplishing this, more efforts must be given to developing closer linkages with the business and industrial community. Cooperative relationships between business and public schools must be forged in which students can receive a portion of their skill training on the job to enable them to go directly into jobs at a high-entry or journeyman level. The gap between learned vocational skills and skills actually used on a job site must be reduced if students are to achieve success in the labor market in a short time span.

The influx of immigrants to this country has increased over the past several years. Students with backgrounds very different from our own are enrolling in our public schools. To adequately serve students who are new to our country, additional program funding will be required to help these students succeed in a culture which is far different from their own. Program investments at an early age for these students will pay rich dividends as they assume their roles as American citizens.

Although much has been said about declining public school enrollments and the possible reduction in funds appropriated to public schools, careful analysis must be given to this myth. Public elementary and secondary schools in the past have not been funded to the extent that they could fulfill all the expectations that society has placed upon them. Specialized programs to meet the unique and emerging needs of many of our public school children—the exceptional, the handicapped, the disadvantaged, the foreign-born to name just a few—will require more of a financial investment than that which will be realized from declining public school enrollments. Declining enrollments in educational programs does not translate into saved dollars since the needs of students in public schools will continue. Lower enrollments, if anything, will mean a higher cost per pupil since the programs must still

be provided regardless of the numbers of students enrolled.

As new thrusts are implemented to improve the public school programs, a constant vigil must be maintained to assure that one portion of the public school curriculum does not become more important, especially at the cost of other programs. We must strive to maintain a balanced curriculum in which children and youth acquire the basic skills in communication, computation, citizenship, healthful living, the sciences, the arts, and vocational endeavors. Improvements must be made on a unified front in all areas of the public school curriculum which result in a quality, comprehensive educational program.

The issues briefly discussed above are a select group from among many that will challenge the public schools in the 80's. These and others will have to be faced in the decade ahead if public schools are to meet the expectations of the students, parents and general public. The American dream that a good education can result in a full and productive life for every citizen continues; the fulfillment of that dream is the challenge for all of us.

10/20/79

ONE VIEWPOINT ON THE NEEDS
OF
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
FOR THE 1980's

Gregory R. Anrig
Commissioner of Education
Commonwealth of Massachusetts

The governance of public education in America was once characterized by former U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II as "local control, state leadership, federal concern". Policy for elementary and secondary education in the 1980's should maintain this triad of responsibility, with a dose of adrenalin in the "leadership" and "concern" portions.

Absent dramatic improvements in the national economy, it is likely that Congressional debates concerning elementary and secondary education in the 1980's will be over whether increments or decrements of dollars should be voted for existing federal education laws enacted in the 1960's and 1970's. If this proves true, education will be at a disadvantage in these debates because of declining enrollments, fewer educational consumers of voting age, and competing demands from an aging population concerned with its pocketbook, security and health.

Within such a setting, the time may be right to recast the federal largesse for education (really only 8% of the total cost). For reasons that were sound for the 1960's and 1970's, the federal investment in

elementary and secondary education has been targeted to special populations, special services and special needs. While education still has a distance to go in achieving equality of educational opportunity for all the nation's young citizens, important progress has been made. Where commitment to equality of educational opportunity once had to be primed and prodded from Washington, increasingly it is being demonstrated in state legislation, state court decisions and state executive actions. The federal "concern" of the last two decades has grown to be a key element in the state "leadership" and local "control" of the present, at least in many parts of the country.*

Evidence of this shared commitment can be seen in the nature and scope of school finance reform in recent years. More than two dozen states have significantly modified their state education aid systems to achieve greater equalization. While some states, my own included, have a ways to go before true equalization is achieved, the trend is clear and state courts are providing an effective "check and balance" to assure appropriate political action for the future.

It is this trend which can provide a new focus for federal education aid in the 1980's and beyond. An attractive incentive is needed to speed greater equalization of state aid to education. Even after intrastate equalization is achieved, differences in wealth among states will leave

*Lest this sounds too much like state parochialism, I advocate for the future continued, strong federal monitoring and enforcement of anti-discrimination laws, which I have and continue to support by action as well as in principle.

profound interstate disparities. I propose that the federal investment in elementary and secondary education gradually shift from large categorical aid to large incentive aid for intrastate and interstate equalization. States should not qualify for this aid until they have demonstrated state effort and state commitment, not only to equalization, but to the goals which underly present federal categorical aid (disadvantaged, handicapped, bilingual, vocational, etc.).

Such a shift might require a dual-track policy. States could become eligible for incentive aid, or continue indefinitely (or for a defined period) to receive categorical aid. This would permit a more individualized approach to the states based both on their needs and their actions.*

Such a refocus of federal education aid would have advantages in a period of demographic change. It would appeal to all voters because it would affect their school taxes. It would complement changes taking place at the state level due to court decisions or legislative action, and thereby enhance greater coordination of federal and state aid. It would reduce growing tensions over federal regulations and paperwork burdens. It could strengthen local-state-federal governance of education in a manner consistent with time-honored traditions, while promoting the national goal of equality in educational opportunity. And, finally, it could provide a positive

*In Massachusetts, for instance, the state education aid formula gives extra funding on an equalizing basis for vocational, special, bilingual and compensatory education. These amounts, plus desegregation aid, greatly exceed the amounts provided by parallel federal programs.

avenue for the new Department of Education to phase out of the administration of a growing proliferation of categorical programs - - - each compartmentalized, underfunded, and promoting special rather than common interests within the educational community at a time when greater unity is essential.

This redirection of federal aid to elementary and secondary education would also permit a redefinition of the federal role in elementary and secondary education for the 1980's and beyond. In addition to incentive aid for equalization, I propose four other major areas of federal involvement in the decade ahead.

Research. The task of research in education is one which individual states and localities are unable to perform effectively or efficiently. New knowledge of learning and teaching requires basic and directed research with national support and coordination. The National Institute of Education has begun this task after a difficult genesis. Its role must be nourished and expanded if our shared goals for elementary and secondary education are ever to be fulfilled. Only the federal government can sustain such an effort. Research (and accompanying evaluation) should continue to be a fundamental part of the federal role in education.

Training of Educational Personnel. The national enrollment decline is a force which will have a profound impact on those who staff most of the 16,000 school districts of the country during the 1980's. The teaching force will grow older, displacement of experienced professionals will increase,

the specter of decline will unnerve and preoccupy school personnel - - - all of this at a time when public expectations and societal needs are demanding more from our schools!

The federal government can't do much about enrollments. But it can provide stimulation for schools in the form of new training support for educational personnel. The training suggested here is not the circuit-rider entrepreneur of the 1980's, but training which is locally-shaped and locally-directed at local educational problems. Some of the elements in the present teacher center statute could be the framework for such training support (though it should not be limited to teachers alone). The key ingredient is that training should not be directed to school personnel; it should be directed by school personnel.

Within the broader need for training support for those on-the-job in our schools, are two additional specific training needs. First, in states like Massachusetts "reductions in force" already have exhausted the ranks of non-tenured personnel. Future reductions will be among tenured personnel. These personnel will be at higher salary levels and the chances are slim of their being hired by other districts in such fiscally tight times. Displacement too often will mean exclusion from the profession one prepared for and has been committed to for a period of years. In Massachusetts, we are piloting short-term, cross-training institutes for displaced teachers in cooperation with our high technology industry and the state teachers associa-

tion. Federal support for such cross-training institutes could address the human problem these teachers face, can respond to employment needs of certain industries interested in recruiting mature, college-educated professionals, and can reduce the economic costs to the nation, states, and to the individuals affected by this displacement.

A second targeted training need is to attract a small core of gifted young people to teaching. Even with the enrollment decline, there will be some need for new entrants to the teaching ranks in certain localities. Superintendents of schools seeking new teachers already are reporting a marked drop-off in the quality of candidates available. The law of supply and demand is at work. The most able students who might wish to be teachers are turning to fields with more promising employment prospects. It would be in the national interest to identify and encourage limited numbers of able people to prepare for a teaching career through what might be called a program of Horace Mann Scholars, similar to the Fulbright and Rhodes Scholarship Programs. Unchecked, present trends in the quality of aspiring teachers will leave a legacy which will affect many children for decades to come.

Technology. The combination of enrollment decline, fiscal limitations, and technological advances creates a need in the 1980's for education to gain maximum instructional benefit from the so-called "new technology". The sophistication, diversity, economy and effectiveness of

this new technology (video discs, calculators, computers, integrated information systems, etc.) clearly have implications and promise for elementary and secondary education.

We need to learn, however, from the experiences of the 1960's with federal funding of computer assisted instruction, teaching machines, and instructional television. Much greater support needs to be given to the quality of instructional programming for technology, the "software". Much greater effort must be given to training and assisting teachers in the use of technological aids. Much greater attention should be directed to the curriculum and scheduling needs of individual schools and classrooms. The new technology makes it possible to avoid difficult and costly mistakes of the past, but it does not guarantee good judgment. This is left to the policymakers.

Civil Rights. Progress made in educational civil rights has been one of the most significant federal contributions to public education over the past two decades. Blacks, other minorities, those who are limited English speaking, females, the poor, and the handicapped have benefited from federal laws, judicial decisions and executive actions. Their rights transcend state lines and must continue to be a focus of strong federal monitoring and enforcement. While, hopefully, state and local officials will make federal intervention increasingly unnecessary, the stakes involved are so great for individual citizens that a continued federal role in educational civil rights is essential for the 1980's.

I have not attempted to propose in this paper a total picture of the federal role in elementary and secondary education. Nor have I dwelt upon the needs for stronger leadership at the state and local levels. Instead, I have attempted to limit my suggestions to those areas I believe are worthy of consideration by the Sub-committee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education as it fulfills its important responsibilities to shape and reshape federal education policy for the 1980's.

October 30, 1979



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CHALLENGES TO EDUCATION IN THE 1980s

K. Forbis Jordan, Senior Specialist in Education
Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress

During the 1980s, various issues are likely to emerge concerning the public and Federal interest in education. These issues include the extent of education to be provided at public expense; the relative share of that fiscal burden to be borne by local, State, and Federal revenue sources; public funds for nonpublic schools; equal access to education for all students; national performance standards; declining rate of growth in resources; and competition for funds among various social service programs.

Magnitude of Publicly Supported Education

The aging of the population, the increasing proportion of families in which both spouses are employed, population mobility, reentry into the labor market at midlife, decline in the rate of economic growth, and pressures for support of other governmental services are among the social and economic forces that will affect public attitudes toward education and the quantity and quality of education that will be provided from public funds.

Rather than being an activity that is sought by the young, education will likely become more accepted as a lifelong endeavor. The promise of a high school equivalency certificate may encourage adults who were unable to complete their high school education to return to school.

In an earlier era, these persons would not have sought additional formal education, but the employment market of the 1980's will require from virtually everyone not only competency in the basic skills but also attention to job related skills that enable employees to adapt to changing employment patterns and job opportunities. Society's interest in supporting these activities may be raised as attention is given to problems related to the underemployed and the unemployed. Another change that appears to be emerging in the educational marketplace is exemplified in those youth who are exercising the option of leaving and then reentering the educational system. By dropping out and later dropping in, they intend to make more mature educational choices concerning future career options.

Interest in preschool programs can be traced to the desire that working mothers have for adequate child care; this interest is reinforced by the growing recognition of the importance of intellectual and social development during a child's early years to assure that maximum benefit is gained from schooling. At the other end of the age spectrum, interest will likely increase in various post high school noncollegiate programs as individuals require supplementary education related to career changes or have greater opportunities to pursue avocational interests because of increased leisure time and early retirement.

There appears to be general agreement that support for preschool programs should be provided through general revenues. However, for various noncollegiate postsecondary programs, some observers would differentiate between the consumer programs that are essentially avocational for the individual and the job training programs that are designed to assist the person in securing employment or upgrading employment status.

Some observers of avocational programs would contend that the student should pay all or some of the cost. For the job training programs, support can be found for society, e.g., the taxpayer, assuming a major share of the cost of the program. The rationale has been that society benefits because of the increased earning power of the persons in the program. The educational system will be challenged to respond to these additional program options during a period of competition for scarce resources.

Funding Public Education

Taxpayer resistance to the property tax in some jurisdictions has dictated either that reductions be made in the level of funding for local schools or that fiscal resources for education have a reduced rate of growth. The public reaction against further increases in revenues from the local property tax and the demands for expanded social services other than education have resulted in education being in a less favored fiscal condition than during the 1950s and 1960s. Demographic, social, economic, and political indicators suggest that this trend will continue in the 1980s.

The number of persons in the traditional school age cohort is declining. Some demographic data suggest that the decline may be reversed in the mid 1980s, but there are no predictions for dramatic growth like that of the 1950s and 1960s. During those two decades, the schools for the first time sought to provide a high school education for all pupils and have had mixed success. With this evidence, the crisis of confidence in the schools continues. The schools have not always served their different clienteles

with equal levels of effectiveness, the public has begun to raise serious questions about the efficacy of the public schools in general.

The research economists and sociologists on the educational process have focused attention on the manner in which educational expenditures (inputs) affect student performance (outputs). Research findings have been somewhat mixed concerning the impact that additional expenditures and other types of inputs for education have had on student performance. These research findings have not aided the efforts of education advocates to secure more funds, and advocates for increased funding have been thwarted further by the decline in the level of public confidence in education and the reduced rate of economic growth throughout the 1970s. The education community finds itself competing for funds with various other governmental services whose funding requirements are driven by inflation or an expanding clientele. Thus, in a political environment characterized by shifting power blocs and a shrinking clientele, the relative power of advocates for increased education funds also appears to have declined.

A constituency for education that is currently declining and may continue to do so will not ease the task for State level education policymakers as they confront two major issues in the 1980s--the level of funding to be provided from State and local sources for education and the degree of discretion that will be retained by local school officials as a decreasing percent of funds for education is provided from local sources. At the Federal level, the policy choice may well be to determine if the pattern of Federal categorical programs is to continue or if Federal funds are to be directed more in the direction of a consolidated grant format.

The latter might use a State plan to assure that certain national priorities are addressed. A potential problem is that this approach may result in the Federal funds being used for revenue displacement at the State or local level, depending upon the intricacies of the State school support program's statutory provisions.

As consideration is given to Federal aid options, two issues emerge: (1) assuring that continued attention is given to such national priorities as compensatory education and education of the handicapped, and (2) contending with the proprietary interest that persons have in initiating and maintaining a program which they support. Specific requirements for the State plan can alleviate the anxiety about the former issue, but continued use of categorical funding mechanism may be necessary with the latter issue.

Various interest groups periodically call for a revision of the manner in which Federal funds are allocated for education, and some advocate groups support the concept of the Federal Government becoming a partner in funding the operational cost of the regular or basic educational program in local schools. Interest in nonrestricted Federal aid for elementary and secondary education may become greater during the 1980s if pressures continue for reduction in the local property tax burden, support increases for interstate equalization in educational funding, and litigation continues to require equal treatment of pupils in educational funding. The broad based revenue generating power of the Federal Government may be an attractive target for those who seek to maintain or increase the level of Federal funding for education.

Public Funds for Nonpublic Schools

Conservative and liberal forces are likely to continue seeking an alternative to public elementary and secondary schools during the 1980s, focusing attention on various methods in which tax funds can be provided for nonpublic schools or tax relief provided to parents paying tuition for their children to attend nonpublic schools. If increases in the number of nonpublic schools with diverse orientations continue in the 1980s, support for some type of public funding is likely to increase. Political response to this support is evident in the voucher proposals introduced in Michigan and California and the tax credit legislation that has been introduced in various State legislatures as well as in the Congress. Some of the current proposals would not be sufficient to pay the full educational cost, but the option of private education might be more attractive to some parents with the incentive of the tax credit.

Some observers fear that the result of providing tuition tax credits may be that parents who can afford the private alternative with its potential for greater economic, racial, or ethnic separateness will pay the price and the public schools will serve only those who cannot afford an alternative. Others contend that tax credits will extend opportunities for an alternative educational program to a larger portion of the population, that they will foster competition between private and public schools, and that this spirit of competition and individual choice is consistent with traditional American values.

Even though the concept of public funds for nonpublic schools has certain attractive features, such as parental support and fiscal relief for institutions, there are also risks, costs, and concerns. First, there

is the constitutional issue of separation of church and State and the possibility that "excessive entanglement" might result from the provision of funds even though several alternatives have been proposed. Second, individual States have had widely varying levels of success and interest in their efforts to set and enforce standards for nonpublic schools. Third, the issue of eligibility criteria for nonpublic schools to receive public funds remains a point of contention. These criteria include nondiscriminatory admission standards, health and safety standards, adequacy of program offerings, adequacy of equipment, quality and adequacy of staff, and sufficiency of support services.

Equal Access to an Adequate Education

Various Congressional actions and judicial decisions suggest that the most significant educational development in the 1980s may be the efforts exerted to assure that each child has access to an adequate or appropriate educational program. The most obvious examples are found in moves to foster desegregation and eliminate sex discrimination. Recent court decisions suggest that the impetus for these movements will be maintained, and possibly accelerated, in the 1980s. Attempts will likely be made to assure access to programs and to provide for equality of educational opportunity through spending comparability standards, elimination of the vestiges of segregation, and equal access to programs.

Another example of equal access may be found in the Individualized Education Program required for each handicapped child under the provisions of P.L. 94-142. The justification for this requirement is not unique with handicapped students, for general acceptance of the concept

that every student has individualized educational needs is conceivable.

National Performance Standards

Concern over declining standardized test scores and general anxiety about student performance will probably continue into the 1980s with various public figures continuing to advocate either a mandatory or voluntary national testing program. Support for standards is currently found among the staunch advocates for local control of schools as well as among those who would support a higher degree of centralization in the administration of the public schools in the United States. One potential difficulty with the concept is the concern that a national testing program might lead to a de facto national curriculum, with the subsequent result of reducing the diversity that has traditionally characterized American public education. Of course, some observers of American education would counter that the current degree of uniformity in textbook usage among the States actually has the effect of contributing to the development of a de facto national curriculum.

The testing program movement will likely be accelerated by the States' growing tendency to adopt minimum competency standards in the basic skills as a requirement for a high school diploma or as a continuing index of a student's progress. One concern relative to the development of minimum competency standards is that the minimums might become the maximums, and another is that the emphasis on minimum competencies might result in a neglect of other areas that also appear to be critical for survival, e.g., human relations skills, promptness, coping skills, and problem solving.

Perhaps the critical consideration will be related to the Federal role in education and the degree to which Congressionally imposed national performance standards will represent an encroachment upon the responsibility that the individual States have for education. It might be questioned whether Congress should encourage States to develop educational performance standards, but promulgating standards from the Federal level would likely be viewed as a significant threat to the traditions of American public education. This illustration provides an example of one emerging political conflict in the Federal system--the balance of power between State and local governments and the public desire for a Congressional response to a matter that is perceived to be a national problem even though the problem may not be viewed as a direct or traditional Federal responsibility.

Living in a World of Limits

The changes in the traditional American lifestyles that have occurred in the latter half of the 1970s will likely continue into the 1980s, perhaps beyond. Even though some economists suggest that the rising price for fossil fuels is not a major contributor to inflation, the impact is felt in the rising cost of utilities, transportation, industrial production, and fuel-consuming activities. The net result may be that individuals will find it increasingly difficult to maintain their current lifestyles.

Schools may be asked to give their attention to student practices, values, and attitudes of conservation. It would be a significant challenge for the schools to foster this change in attitude and behavior in a culture

long oriented to consumption, growth, and the assumption of abundant resources.

An intriguing possibility is that the rising costs of energy, and the resulting impact on the American lifestyle, could be the catalysts that, in the 1980s, will bring about innovative changes in the American public schools that were sought (by some), but did not materialize during the 1960s and 1970s. Energy consumption associated with school operation and transportation, and continuing developments in communications technology, could well be the forces that change the manner in which schools are organized and conducted. With appropriate support and leadership, the concept of education in the 1980s could easily shift from the current emphasis on institutional "schooling" to an emphasis on learning and participation characterized by decentralized learning centers to which teachers move rather than students, a three or four day week of formal instruction, work and service experience integrated into the planned educational program for students, and more extensive use of public television and video-recorders. Though suggesting numerous, inadequately, explored problems, this combination of curricular and organizational reform supported by greater use of technology could contribute to a renewed interest in and a higher level of public support for education.

Balancing of Priorities

In view of the developments of the 1960s and 1970s, one of the significant dilemmas confronting policymakers in the 1980s may be to place the requests of special interest groups in perspective as one of the considerations in addressing the totality of educational and

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societal interests. In the field of education, as well as between education and other governmental services, various competing interests will likely to continue seeking support for special programs or constituencies, even to the detriment of others. The capacity of government to maintain a balanced perspective in addressing special as well as general societal needs may well be one of the great societal challenges of the 1980s.

PART II

SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS

(245)

256

THE EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES OF

OF

POST-AFFLUENCE

BY

G. Michael Gappert

FOR

Subcommittee on Elementary and

Secondary Education

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INTRODUCTION

Future historians will likely characterize the thirty years from 1945 to 1975 in American society as a period of foolish affluence fueled by borrowed money.

With the end of the unique circumstances associated with the baby boom generation (born in the 1940's and the 1950's), in the 1970's the American social economy has suffered the collapse of affluence, which is the legacy of that generation. The overriding characteristic of the social economy of the new quarter century is post-affluence.

The advent of post-affluence does not represent an economic crisis. It doesn't even represent an economic problem in the Keynesian sense. The struggle for subsistence is not the issue for the United States. No, the questions that obtrude beyond the reach of economics are social and personal in nature. The problem of post-affluence is a social problem: It is the struggle to solve the Good Life Puzzle, and the struggle is often reflected in personal crisis. The isolation and needs of the urban and rural underclasses provide evidence that the United States now faces the end of the myth that "more will be better." There isn't much more to be had, and some say that there will be less; but there will be enough. That is to say, there will be enough if we redefine what "enough" is. The social economy of the future will begin with a realization of the transcendental nature of economic needs and wants. This is a social problem. The social economy of the future will struggle with defining a "just" distribution of income. That is a political problem.

Since a concern with equity is the abiding role of the federal government in education, congressional oversight of federal resources and regulations must be guided by the realities of post-affluent America. This brief paper outlines such a perspectives

and discusses some of the educational consequences.

WHAT "POST" PATTERN ARE WE?

Most futurists are agreed that we are now post-something, but they disagree on how to characterize our situation—"post" what? Michael Marien (1976) has tracked over sixty definitions or descriptions for the projected society of the future. The range is from "post-capitalist" to "post-warfare" and includes Marcuse's one-dimensional society (Marcuse, 1964) and Don Schon's *Beyond the Stable State* (1973). These images and metaphors are attempts to bring some kind of thematic unity to the myriad bits of the future emerging in contemporary society. Lewis Mumford has said that we are "post-historical," by which he means that not only are we deficient in a sense of history but that our ignorance is partially excusable because we are beyond learning from past patterns.

In similar context, Robert Jay Lifton has suggested that we are all survivors and are all post-something. As he writes:

Consider for instance, the widespread inclination to name and interpret the contemporary man or woman not in terms of what he or she might actually be but rather in terms of what has been—that is, in terms of what we have survived. We speak of ourselves as post-modern, post-industrial, post-historic, post-identity, post-economic, post-materialistic, post-technocratic, and so forth. There are pitfalls in this way of managing the present (or the future) after what no longer is (or will be), but the terms have an authentic source in the sense of survivorship, present or anticipated, that so pervades our deepest image of ourselves (Lifton, 1975: 135.)

Lifton suggests that as the sense of change intensifies, the boundaries between history and evolution are obscured. People seem to be plunging ahead in an unknowable process devoid of clear destination. They then "suddenly discover, swirling about, the total array of images created over the full course of their historical and evolutionary past."

Lifton concludes:

These images become an elusive form of psychic nutriment, to be ingested, metabolized, excreted, and, above all, built upon and recombined in some kind of vital process. (Lifton, 1975: 137.)

Some kind of symbolic reconstruction and theoretical integration seems to begin to happen as we treat the future as both a continuous and discontinuous projection of the present and the past. Out of these proectives we can fashion a series of mental images around which the future can be analyzed. For our purposes, three such images or constructs can be useful. These are the notions of post-affluent, post-industrial and post-macho. Each is a meaningful way to organize an analysis of the future which builds upon the crisis and circumstances of the late 1960's and the 1970's. A brief discussion of each follows:

THE POST-AFFLUENT PROSPECT

There is differing evidence with respect to the economic condition of post-affluence. The assumption has been that affluence means discretionary income and is related to "opportunity, choice, and diversity." The condition of post-affluence would mean, then, that there has been a reduction of limits placed on opportunity, choice, and diversity in the social economy of the United States. In the terms of the economist, post-affluence would be portrayed by a decline or leveling off of real disposable income. For the individual household we have indicated that a condition of subsistence or sub-affluence might exist. When more households have trouble making

ends meet and realizing their expectations, they lose "discretion." In 1973-1975 the expectations of the American middle class were shattered. Within those two years, the purchasing power of the dollar shrank by nearly 20 percent, the value of household savings and other wealth and assets declined about 12 percent, and the size of household debts rose by over 18 percent. According to *Business Week* (March 10, 1975), the total value of all American households' net financial assets at the end of 1974 was only 64 percent of the value when 1973 began. Furthermore, the stock market decline in those two years wiped out \$300 billion in stock values, and the households' equity investments were reduced from \$974 billion at the end of 1974. Although the misery of the middle class cannot be compared with subsistence struggles of the poor, the sense of outrage caused by the rather abrupt onslaught of post-affluence in 1973-1974 has been followed by continuing malaise, confusion, and puzzlement among all classes of workers.

A decade of stagnation in the incomes of manufacturing workers is something new in the postwar era. In the earlier years, this group made steady gains in earning power, even after erosion by inflation and rising federal taxes. In 1946-1956, for example, a decade that included inflation, recession, and warfare comparable to those factors in a more recent period, the average real take-home pay of manufacturing workers with three dependents rose about 2 percent a year. But in the past decade, which by now includes two full years of recovery from the last recession, the gain was a microscopic 0.3 percent per year.

Even this calculation probably overstates the gain in the average factory worker's purchasing power. Translated into 1976 price levels, the annual gain in the last decade works out to about \$5.66 per week. But nearly \$4 of this gain goes into higher state and local taxes. For workers in many areas, the rise in local taxation may very well have meant no rise at all in disposable income over the past ten years.

Another characteristic of the beginning of the post-affluent transition was a dramatic increase in consumer debt. Consumer debt rose from 1970 to 1974 by 42 percent while after-tax personal income in the same period rose by only 37 percent. This means that a larger portion of post-affluent incomes will be used for debt service and payments on past purchases. Delinquency rates for mortgage loans and installment payments have crept up to about 4 percent a year. It should also be noted that while consumer debt rose by over 40 percent in the early years of the 1970's, government spending in the same period rose by less than 30 percent. Another indicator of the burden of installment debt, measured by the ratio of outstanding installment credit to disposable personal income, is that this ratio rose to over 15 percent in the early 1970's. (In 1945 it had been 1.4 percent.)

Increasingly, American families have had to rely upon debt to maintain any kind of discretionary spending. In 1976, according to the Bureau of the Census, about 83 percent of American families had incomes below \$25,000. Approximately 11 percent made less than \$5,000. About 20 percent earned from \$5,000-10,000, and another 20 percent earned from \$10,000-15,000, and that 40 percent represented the families of the lower middle class-the sub-affluent. Another 32 percent of American families earned \$15,000-20,000. Because of the problems of expectations, it is unclear where in the range of, say, \$12,500 to \$25,000, discretionary spending options begin to emerge and increase. But the dramatic increases in the costs of housing, transportation, medical care, and personal taxes in the first half of the 1970's sharply reduced the discretionary options of the so-called middle class. More than ever before the line between necessities and options depends upon uncontrollable costs and controllable expectations and lifestyles. Ironically, in January, 1978, the editors of *Business Week* and other conservative business leaders including former President Ford bemoaned the

plight of the 15 percent of American families earning \$25,000-50,000 (another 2 percent earned more than \$50,000). Business Week, in analysing the combined impact of the new Social Security Act and the proposed income-tax reduction, indicated that this group which "provides the savings" for American capital investment "is threatened with what amounts to liquidation."

Take one example, a family of four with \$35,000 a year in income. The Social Security bill signed by the President last month will increase this family's payroll tax to \$1,070 this year, \$2,291 in 1983, and \$2,503 by 1987. The Administration had implied that this savage increase would be offset by income tax cuts. But the preliminary income tax proposals, just unveiled, would take only \$70 off the family's \$6,218 tax bill. By contrast, a family with \$10,000 in income would have its taxes cut from \$446 a year to \$16 a year. (January 9, 1978, p. 92.)

According to the editors, "the effects of this egalitarian policy on social tensions are painfully predictable." Indeed, this conflict over "income shares" will be one of the primary dynamics of the post-affluent transition. The concerns are real. The super-affluent aspire to discretion over savings and investments. The affluent expect discretion over spending, either through disposable income or the provision of credit. The sub-affluent struggle to maintain discretion over the conditions of basic maintenance. In the meantime the subsistence sector has no discretion at all except perhaps in the unorthodox opportunities of the subculture of the urban underclass.

The tax break provided to the lower middle class by the first president elected in the post-affluent transition has both a real and a symbolic significance. However, given new resource scarcities and international realities, the tax break's real economic benefits may be erased by the end of the decade. It is a signal, though, that a national

debate over a "just" distribution of income has begun. The unusual sense of abundance and affluence that flourished from the end of World War II until the early 1970's is hard to dispel. It has strongly influenced several generations. The baby boom of the same two and a half decades has also created a "Bulge Generation" which grew and was socialized around the material realities and social illusions of that affluence. There will never again be, in this country, a generation of youth that had it so good. Affluence is now behind us, but we have survived it. It is unclear, however, how its memory will affect us or that unique generation that was nourished into adulthood from a basis of unprecedented material prosperity. The social values of that generation have been a source of continuing discussion in the mass media. When the baby-boom generation was concentrated on the college campuses or on Vietnam battlefields in the 1960's, they were easy to observe. As they enter the workplaces and communities of the adult world, their behavior and values will be less directly observable but will be indirectly manifested in the dynamics of the marketplace and in the evolution of the social economy. The post-industrial workplace will be changing.

THE POST-INDUSTRIAL WORKPLACE

Mention of the marketplace and of the myriad transactions of the social economy bring us to the "post-industrial" concept. Daniel Bell (1973) has identified the five principal elements of the post-industrial society as he has studied it. These are:

- the change from a goods-producing to a service economy.
- the preeminence of professional and technical jobs.
- the "centrality" of theoretical knowledge as the primary course of innovation and of policy formulation.
- the control of planned technological growth or development.
- the creation of new kinds of computer-based systems for management purposes.

The generation growing into their late twenties in the decade 1970-1980 are entering a post-industrial marketplace where so-called service jobs are the primary economic influence. This service economy demands new kinds of interpersonal relationships among workers, between workers and management, and between workers and consumers. For most people the work experience will have a strong social element. Fewer workers will be oriented to a machine, or to the land as farmers or miners. Here again the society has survived the growth of the factories of the industrial expansion that was the dominant economic force in our society from the late nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth.

There will be 3 types of service workers. Type K will be knowledge workers. Type C will be the lower class clerical and counter workers. Type P will be specialists in protective services. Data analysis, environmental analysis and human analysis will be the basic skills required. These functions call for a new Three R's of the service economy - Recording (of data), Relating (to people), and Renewing (of knowledge).

THE POST MACHO CULTURE

But it is also time to note that by 1985 it is projected that almost half of the working force will be women. This is one way to introduce the third post-something construct. This is the idea that the emerging social system of the next five decades can be usefully characterized as "post-masculine," or "post-macho." It is suggested that some of the unique elements of this post-macho society can be described as follows:

- the custom of educating boys and girls together-more than in the past-which has now led to joint physical education programs and teams.
- the supervision and direction of young males almost entirely by females, right through to maturity.

- deemphasis on physical strength, especially in the workplace.
- new legal supports to enable women in the work force to compete more successfully against men.
- new patterns of sexual permissiveness and romantic love, especially in the emerging adult generation, which reduce the aggressiveness prerogative of men.
- new patterns of assertiveness and independence for women.
- a decline in the effectiveness of the military mentality in organizational leadership and structure.
- the growth of the matrix style of management which is essentially a dual-authority form of management similar to the two-parent family model.
- shifting criteria of fairness and equity.
- a release of additional creativity as the "new male" emerges and achieves greater acceptability.

The society in fact is going to become much more androgynous and will have a more even distribution of the characteristics of both sexes. What may happen is that a more balanced set of values will pre-dominate in all our institutional arrangements, even in the military. More desirable, perhaps, aspects of machismo silliness will no longer have as great an influence as in the past in the politics of our society. The most significant recent examples of such silliness, of course, were the attitudes of both Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon toward ending the Vietnam war. A current example was the widespread macho hostility to the Panama Canal treaty.

Each of the ideas discussed, post-affluent, post-industrial, and post-macho, brings a transcendental quality to the emerging society. The lessened relevance or dominance of material prosperity, the social transactions of service jobs, the new sex role relationships, and the still formative nature of the new adult generation all contribute an opportunity if not a necessity to redefine social and economic purposes and objectives.

THE POST-AFFLUENT SYNTHESIS

Out of these mental images we can suggest a synthesis of societal change which should guide our policy planning in the 1980's. Such a synthesis is shown in Table I as seven elements.

The significance of the Bulge Generation has been especially real to those in education. Post-affluent consciousness emerged out of the 1960's, but its significance is unclear and may be changing. The transcendental nature of some economic needs and wants has been apparent for over a hundred years, at least since 1836 when Ralph Waldo Emerson and his friends formed the informal Transcendental Club. Synergistic lifestyles and the evolution of an androgynous culture are interpretations that merit considerable attention and debate. The reform of the ways in which we organize our households and our workplaces is under way, but it is unclear whether these innovative tinkering will become matters for public policy. The general uncertainties of the late 1970's are reflected in the feelings of the managers of large-scale organizations, both public and private, who must cope during these turbulent years. The best of them are more tentative than dogmatic. The inequality is real and will be recurrent through the 1980's.

EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

In one sense education has already experienced the post-affluent society. It has been a declining industry in a constrained economy. Educators of all types have experienced the socio-economic traumas of decline, dislocations and disruptions. As the enrollment decline bottoms out in the mid-1980's, it will be timely to re-examine and redesign the production relations in the newly stabilized and reduced enterprise of elementary and secondary relationships.

TABLE I
PORTRAIT OF THE
POST-AFFLUENT FUTURE

1. The significance of the Bulge Generation
2. The emergence and possible significance of post-affluent consciousness
3. The recognition if not the acceptance of the transcendental nature of many wants and needs
4. The gradual development of synergistic lifestyles in an evolving androgynous culture
5. Innovative tinkering and possible reforms in households and workplaces including social-economic counseling and job redesign
6. Patterns of uncertainty and indecision among large-scale organization including the federal government
7. Discontent and disruptions with respect to agreement on a "just" distribution of income among different socio-economic groups.

There are those who claim that education resists change and wards off innovation. Another viewpoint is that education is constantly changing. The students change every September and their behaviors are not constant from day to day or even hour to hour. And some schools are literally swamped with behavior changes and student turnover. In this view schools are "too busy" to experiment with externally designed innovations.

Given this view it is the external socio-economic and political trends and forces which will generate changes in education. As these trends increase the social economic turbulences of the 1980's, the schools may experience important transformations. Some of these trends are:

- the involvement and demands of significant numbers of activist parents.
- growing conflicts between demands for both equity and excellence.
- the continuing revolution in educational governance with its demands for accountability.
- the growth of the two pay check family.
- the mid career, mid life crisis of the Bulge Generation which will make the 37 year old the large single age group in most of the 1980's.

It is the latter relationships and the changing nature of work in a post-industrial service economy which may have unexpected significance for education. The new emphasis on youth employment programs may also accelerate this influence.

Larry Hirschhorn (1974) discusses the consequences for work and education of the emerging service society and the forces of "anti-development" that prevent the emergence of the services' proper post-industrial functions. He differentiates job growth- the mere expansion in the number of jobs- and job development- "the qualitative changes in the structures of jobs." To avoid

stagnation, he argues, public policy-making must concentrate on the development of jobs and not just on an increase in numbers.

Hirschhorn describes the shift in post-industrial society to new sources of productivity, summed up as information and organization, by means of which the service becomes the dominant sector in the economy. New needs, possibilities, and skills, however, are contradicted and restricted by attempts to adhere to old structures carrying over from the period of industrialization and modernization. Moreover, different areas within the service sector tend to develop at different rates, causing antagonisms. When such an antagonism occurs, the more advanced service becomes checked, or to use Hirschhorn's term, "rationalized," and effectively downgraded to fit into the older structure. The service is thus underemployed, and society as a whole remains underdeveloped measured against its post-industrial potential.

The crisis in jobs is, to Hirschhorn, an example of an antagonism resulting from unbalanced post-industrial development. A rapidly changing job structure and new education patterns should reinforce each other, leading to dynamic growth in both. But when growth in education outpaces the transformation of the job structure, the old patterns and inflexibility of the job structure cause the development in education to seem "excessive and wasteful". The probable, unfortunate result of this disjunction will be, he suggests, the "rationalisation" of education by downgrading it-by, for example, reviving more traditional forms of education and vocation training. Such solutions will more likely result in a retardation of the potential for development of society as a whole.

What is needed instead, he argues, is the upgrading of the productive "human factor." Reorganization, flexibility, and continually creative response to changes must characterize all service systems. As one service changes, those other services involved by it must also change in order for it to develop. He writes: "Information, organization,

research, labor mobility, all come to play increasingly important roles in the economy. only when human beings have reorganised their socio-economic activities to bring out the productive potential of these new factors." (1974: 9 and 11.) The alternative, to him, is economic stagnation and waste.

In spite of the current growth of career education programs in many elementary and secondary systems, there are limits to the utilization of educational reform as a device to change the future nature of jobs.

The team that produced *Work in America* (1972) also emphasises the importance of equivalent forms in school as preparation for smooth functioning of the individual in work; schools up to now have been charged with preparing "Industrial Man," but changes in society have shifted to a need for preparing the "Satisfied Worker." They quote Alvin Toffler's description of fitting the schools to the needs of an earlier industrial society:

... the whole idea of assembling masses of students (raw material) to be processed by teachers (workers) in a centrally located school (factory) was a stroke of industrial genius. The whole administrative hierarchy of education, as it grew up, followed the model of industrial bureaucracy... The inner life of the school thus became an anticipatory mirror, a perfect introduction to industrial society. The most critical features of education today- the regimentation, lack of individuation, the rigid system of seating, grouping, grading, and marking, the authoritarian role of the teacher-are precisely those that made mass public education so effective an instrument of adaptation for its place and time. (*Work in America*, 1972: 141.)

Times, have changed, however, and "Industrial Man" is no longer a fitting description, since today's workers will no longer accept "authoritarianism, fragmentation, routine, and other aspects of the inherited workplace." The tasks of the schools in the present and for the future is rather, for these writers, to encourage the development of the "Satisfied Worker," in preparation for today's world of work, today's student needs, and tomorrow's will need, information about the world of work and a realistic appraisal of work, "its meaning, its necessity for life, its rewards, its requirements, and its shortcomings."

To implement this basic shift, they suggest "Information-Rich Alternatives" and "Action-Rich Alternatives." The former include a strong general base in reading, writing, speaking, and arithmetic skills, learning "how to learn," and interpersonal communications skills. Useful also, they write, would be to broaden the curriculum to include courses to learn the procedures of the large work organizations that most students will probably move into, and in entrepreneurship to give students a better basis to "work on their own" should they so choose. Action-Rich Alternatives include modifying present vocational courses and broadening them into practical courses for all students, in domestic skills, crafts and mechanics, and typing; simulations reproducing work environments; and work-study programs.

A different perspective is offered by Henry Levin (1975). He attempts to anticipate possible reforms that may become instituted in work in the near future, in order to propose "corresponding" reforms in schools to prepare students better for the workplaces they will be entering. Levin describes a "correspondence principle," by which reforms in education are likely to be made when the existing approach and the results it produces do not correspond to changes in the functioning of work organizations. Educational reform thus comes about as a response to the changing societal needs that have arisen.

The basic premise underlying this principle is that "schools and other agencies of socialization serve to reproduce the social relations of production. Educational reform then, becomes functional only when the social relations of production are altered," and not *per se*.

To Levin, the "correspondence principle" is not operating at present, and he seeks to reestablish the functional relationship between school and work by proposing a "taxonomy" of educational reforms classified into categories derived from probable coming reforms in work. He suggests that "modifications in work may require workers with different skills, attitudes and behaviors and that it is desirable to develop a classification of educational reforms that will be likely to correspond to such changes." Levin's categories of reform are:

- "microtechnical"-reforms that are "narrowly technical and individualistic in implementation." Examples in work would be a more flexible work schedule and job enlargement. Examples in education do not correspond exactly, but two types of reform in this same category are new subjects and teacher training and re-training.

- "macrotechnical"-changes in the technical sphere, but wider in scope than the above. Examples of such reforms in work are new staff organization, "revitalization" through educational and training programs, sabbaticals. Examples of such changes in the educational sphere are open classrooms, mastery learning, work-study programs.

- "micropolitical"- "changes in the internal governance of the organization with respect to decisions on production activities and resource allocation." Examples for work are job enrichment and forms of participatory management.

Examples for schools are changes in governance within the classroom and in the operation of the teaching process, e.g. peer teaching.

- "macropolitical" - major changes "in the governance and technical conception of organization." Examples of such reforms in work would be worker self-management, employee ownership. Such reforms in schools would be community control, factory-run schools.

As can be seen from the examples above, Levin's reforms in the two areas of work and education only occasionally correspond on specific points and are not for the most part closely linked. In conclusion, however, he presents a summary of educational reforms "that are consistent with two types of work reforms." Work reforms that result in an increased emphasis on individuality would find their equivalent in educational reforms resulting in 1) educational technology, 2) differentiated staffing, 3) flexible modular scheduling, 4) open schools, 5) educational vouchers, and 6) deschooling. Educational preparation for work reforms instituting increased emphasis on cooperation and participation would result in 1) team teaching 2) mastery learning, 3) desegregation, 4) micropolitical changes, 5) community control, and 6) factory-run schools. Levin suggests, then, that equivalent forms of organization and decision-making be planned for schools to prepare the students for the forms in which they will be required to function in the work world.

CONCLUSION

As indicated earlier the service economy in Post-Affluent America will require a new Three R's. It is a question however, these skills will be acquired within the schoolhouse and the classroom, or outside the traditional delivery systems of education.

Education is evolving new partnerships with external agencies, resources and forces. Some of these partnerships are unhappy ones and some are excellent and extremely effective. The study and understanding of these relationships should become a priority for education and the general public. These partnerships are compelled by the resource realities of post-affluent America. The consequences of Iran will be felt in the schoolhouse as the further emergence of the two and three paycheck family further disrupts the social economy of our local communities. Education policy and educators must become more sensitive to their possible role as the shadow of post-Affluence darkens the expectations of the 1980's. Will schools be a creative force in the social economic transformation of our society?

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REDRESS THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Sondra Ford, Ed.D.
Assistant Professor
Department of Instruction
and Learning
College of Human Development
and Learning
Murray State University
Murray, KY 42071

(286)

REDRESS THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

In a long ago kingdom an emperor was forever seeking exquisite new garments to dazzle the constituency and celebrate the quality of existence in that time. In his search for more perfectly designed attire, he became deluded by his own illusion. If you remember the story, he paraded the streets in "finery" seen only by the bright and capable of the day. Since most dared not admit to ignorance or inefficiency, the counsel and common-folk alike excused his nakedness. It took a child who was naive enough of allegiance to systems to wonder aloud why they would continue to celebrate when the king was stripped of his vestment. Even when the child awakened the general public to the charade, the sovereign said, "All the same I have to go on with this as long as the procession lasts."

In the eyes of many the educational priesthood has been defrocked. Why this lack of trust? The information explosion, coupled with our technological advances, sociological shifts and problems of an economic slump puts our own educational parade under the magnifying glass for all citizens to judge. There is no doubt that the rapidly doubling (every five years) body of knowledge, along with our expanded capacity for knowledge manageability, flings us into an era of abundance. Yet, we see a poverty-stricken situation where schools seem unable to adequately transfer the skills necessary for coping with intellectual, emotional, physical, and moral dilemmas of our time.

We are reminded of the illustration of pike and minnows cohabiting. Put some pike in a large tank of water. Put some minnows in the tank, too, but keep the pike and minnows separated by inserting a glass shield between them. The pike will naturally go for the minnows, since they dearly love to eat them. But they won't get them, because they will bump into the glass

partition. The pike will keep trying -- five times, ten times, maybe even fifty times. Then they will give up. When they give up, remove the glass partition. Now the minnows will swim freely among the pike -- who are still hungry. What happens next? The pike will not eat the minnows. Pike will even starve to death with all that food around them. Why? They have it in their heads that they cannot get to the minnows. And even though the conditions which led to their original failure have been changed, the pike still can't get it into their heads that the minnows are now available. It's frightening to realize that we could have this abundance of nourishment in the midst of alarming need. And if these discrepancies are apparent today, they will become glaring incompatibilities in the world of tomorrow.

Certainly in the world of the near future, education will be of supreme importance. Why then would we mock the school system which has tried so diligently to serve us? Looking at time-tested systems one is reminded of another honored institution and a parallel can be drawn. In religion, when one focuses on the temple and the codification of words, salvation becomes a sterile mockery. When one focuses on the institutional preservation of school and loses sight of the dynamic learning/growing process created by the ingestion of knowledge, then we sing a dirge to the past. I'm afraid our schools have so fossilized as to insulate society from learning, just as religious codes have sometimes celebrated the law instead of the spirit.

Schools survival depends upon a willingness and capacity to change its image. If schools could be seen as an institution of transformational vitality they could become the vanguard in designing a healthy new decade. The vitality can be described as the disintegration of one way of experiencing the world followed by the reorganization of this experience - a reorganization which now includes the new realization of the world.

Schools can internalize the needs of the 1980 milieu and in turn nourish society but that transformation must begin now. Just awakening and reacting to the kaleidoscopic sense of our world is only a first step toward becoming an active partner in the creative design of tomorrow.

What then does this world look like as we hurl into the 80's? Sociologically, our population and its needs are changing in some of the following directions. Fewer children are being born, in fact some sociologists suggest that school enrollment will drop by about 25% if we continue to define school population as 6 to 18. Student population is shifting from the Mid-Atlantic and Pacific states to the South and Southwest. The family is becoming less of a factor in the socialization of the child. Teenage childbearing is up. Divorce and serial marriage become the norm. According to many projections, close to 45% of all children born in 1976 will live with a single parent for some time before reaching age 18. More and more women are entering the job market. The home/school relationship shifts as traditional family patterns change. The increasing number of healthy people over 60 indicates that the retirement mindset is wasteful. These patterns suggest that many new modes of living and thinking must be assimilated. The multiplicity of new stimuli bombarding people alienates most of us from the moorings of a more familiar world. And the rapidity of the bombardment results in a tremendous amount of stress now being experienced by many segments of the population.

Add to this stress a great deal of distrust and a sense of powerlessness. Consumers have expressed concern that businesses are cheating them with the cooperation of government. The general worker feels that big business, the social security system (which s/he feels they may never cash in on) and tax programs in general all plot ways to erode their dollar. Business persons feel that they are paying enormous taxes and dealing with constant

harassment and restrictions. The government officials feel they are being pulled to pieces by special interest groups. These frustrations lead people to a stage of ineffectuality and impotence. Many simply drop out of societal involvement in a productive way by use of drugs (both prescribed and otherwise) and alcohol.

Now if we haven't already painted a time of confusion, let us add the economic trend. Economists suggest that the long term (45-60 year) economic cycle predicts a 1980's depression. We are poised on the threshold of a slump similar to the 1930's. Our overcapacity, excessive debt, growing interest rate, and inflated dollar all describe a post-extravagant society. Outrageous hydrocarbon costs precede the end of an era where our lifestyles were dictated to by our dependence on petroleum controllers. These rising costs directly affect our use of energy, heating and transportation. In turn, all budgets, both personal and institutional, will have to incorporate these adjustments as they occur.

While we make the mentioned sociological and economic adjustments there are also tremendous new technological capabilities to comprehend. Humanity is fast becoming global in communication and interdependence. Computers will transform our existence. They are becoming less expensive and increasing their capacity each year. They serve us with large data bases for efficient storage and retrieval of information. The cost of electronics has gone down 30% a year and the cost of information storage has reduced 50% each year since its inception. The electronic library and home based computer (both receiver and transmitter) will put learning at our fingertips in our own time frame and environment. These teaching machines will be within the realm of possibility for most citizens. Home learning packets can be designed as national education television networks expand and develop interactive programs and the video disk becomes a popular household item. Who now is

taking responsibility for developing these directions? Certainly the growing mass media industry is taking advantage of the technological advances plus the public's attraction to the medium. They are constantly researching the interest of the consumer because they are in business for profit. We cannot overlook the power of these teaching tools and partners as we seek to design better ways to do what needs to be done in the transfer of knowledge.

It seems that this transmission of knowledge is the life force for building maximum human potential. People need to become responsible caring decision makers and to do this they have to be informed -- of facts, alternatives, consequences, and procedures. With a good foundation of knowledge and the practice of applying this to relevant problems people can be nurtured into personal empowerment.

To provide that empowerment we have found nothing superior to the educational principles set forth by the 1927 National Congress of Parents and Teachers. These seven cardinal principles:

- health
- command of fundamental processes
- worthy home membership
- vocation
- citizenship
- worthy use of leisure time
- and ethical character

all serve as well planned building blocks for shaping future maximum potential. However, these principles need a new framework to accomplish the intended results. Our present design is no longer cost efficient, relevant and cognizant of contemporary human values.

We offer an alternate design of the educational system. The model includes interfacing of schools (as we now know them), corporations, and media technology to get intended societal results without duplicating costs and effort. These educational consortiums would serve as data, research, and development centers where they consistently identify and disseminate

promising programs.

Drawing liberally from Robert Weber we propose a model which moves . . .

<u>From . . .</u>	<u>To . . .</u>
closed systems	open systems Note: A diffused learning environment proposes that school buildings be used by more people (varied population) at varied times of the day and year. Also it means taking learning into parks, museums, libraries, homes, public buildings, offices, and guidance centers.
inefficient information transfer (test and teacher funnel)	educational technology and humane teachers in some practical mix
arbitrary curriculum	full life involvement including apprenticeship, conscription service, and student interest
white middle class values	cultural pluralism. Note: We are global persons-interdependent in our dynamic reciprocity.
mass education-look step	individually paced education differences including early identification and prescription.
rote learning	discovery learning. Note: The expansion of factual knowledge will be replaced by strategies for making uses of the information processing capabilities of the environment.
K-12	Early childhood development through adult education. Note: Certain learning processes will become integral to good parenting. These skills can be taught to those trained to work with children-babysitters, day care center personnel, as well as parents. The beginning of life is newly perceived as important to the development in the areas of emotional, physical, and intellectual futures. Therefore, infant education may be done by loving parents. Longer life and vocational shifting

occupational education taking on new credibility (businesses already recognize this. In 1975 business spent \$10 billion dollars on training programs.) Life long learning is imperative. No longer can we fragment the learning process

"Cells and bells"	home, anytime learning
passivity of learner	active learner
cognitive focus	cognitive, sensory, affective, and cognitive balance
fragmentation of facts subject areas	unity and synthesis of knowledge; interdiscipline problem-centered study
memorization/regurgitation	learning to learn
attendance/course completion compulsory	challenge exams- focus on result-the achievement of attitudes, skills and abilities regardless of where learned
student dependence upon teacher stimulus	receptivity enhancement of learning (chemical/electrical)
booklearning	media, multisensory discovery

The strength of an institution is composed of competent learnership, continuous planning function, scattering of power and authority on the basis of ability to produce and free and dynamic movement of current ideas into the planning. A self renewal management system for these consortium centers will expedite the genesis of this new design as it tends to be pro active in its approach to change.

To accomplish this change we obviously need learning managers. These people will be the most crucial element in the development process. They will be trained to design, and manage resources and learning experiences. These professionals will be active participants in the curricular decisions. The training programs for these self actualizing managers will focus on skill and attitude development.

The relevant skills we recommend include: resource management, problem solving, analyzing, synthesizing, evaluation, communications training, decision making, goal setting, creativity development, counseling, valuing, and development of alternative routes of transferring ideas. Attitudes needed include: trust in student ability, autonomy, compassion, flexibility, sensitivity to self and others, ability to incorporate dichotomies, and assertiveness. This teacher training could be received at the educational consortiums in conjunction with experience in real learning/teaching situations.

We can build and perpetuate humane systems through humane processes. We propose that these more humane processes and systems be instigated right away to alleviate the costly waste -- the waste of personal potential and the waste of money. The imperatives of human values and cost effectiveness underpin all that we seek. We must realize that the destiny of humanity is molded by the problems we confront.

EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES OF THE 1980's

Robert G. Wegmann
Office of Planning and
Program Development
The National Institute of Education
August, 1979

(275)

"In the short period during which futurists have been practicing their craft, they have made one discovery of fundamental importance: the future cannot be predicted."

James O'Toole

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to review a few of the trends which seem likely to have an impact on American education during the 1980's.

The phrase "a few of the trends" is deliberately chosen. American public education exists in a complex setting of economic, demographic, political and societal pressures. Each of these factors interacts with others. School boards find themselves simultaneously trying to deal with such issues as inflation, declining enrollment, Federal court orders, and the impact of an increasing proportion of working mothers on PTA involvement. A really thorough review of educational trends and their possible interactions over the coming decade would require more resources than were available for the preparation of this paper.

Focusing on the practical problems of the 1980's helped to limit the scope of this report. Although a range of futures literature was consulted, much of it was set aside either because it did not deal with education or was conducted in such a speculative or long-range manner as to be of little use in discussing the decade immediately ahead. Much of the futures literature deals with the "world problematique" or "world macroproblem": that complex of tensions and strains (and even potential catastrophes) caused by rapidly increasing world population, world-wide industrialization, potential exhaustion of non-renewable resources, excessive nationalism and the nuclear threat, pollution of air and water, food shortages, inflation, and the fundamental problem of altering out-dated values to meet a radically changed situation. The decision to concentrate on more immediate American educational problems in this paper was not meant to overlook the seriousness of Heilbroner's question: "Is there hope for man?"

I. Demographic Changes and Trends

Preschool and Elementary Enrollment

Most of the children who will be enrolled in preschool and elementary programs during the 1980's have not yet been born. Hence, the prediction of their exact numbers is difficult at best. Before citing specific projections, it might perhaps be well to note that the Census Bureau, in 1960, projected 1980 elementary enrollment at somewhere in the range of 37-46 million students. The 1977 estimate is 30 million. So much for demographic projection as an exact science.

The total number of children of school age in the 1980's will be primarily a function of two factors: the cohort of women of childbearing age (increasing rapidly as the "baby boom" children come of age) and the number of children born per woman of childbearing age (which is now 1.8 births per woman, an historic low). The recent volatility in the interaction of these two factors is illustrated by the fact that, in 1972, there were close to 900,000 more women of childbearing age than in 1971, yet 300,000 fewer births, due to a very rapid drop in the birth rate.

In projecting preschool enrollment we have the added problem that, since attendance is not compulsory, the proportion of the age group attending is also uncertain. The preschool enrollment trend of the last decade is clearly up. In 1966, 29% of children 3-5 years of age were enrolled in preprimary programs. By 1971, this had risen to 37%, and by 1976 to 49%. The most recent figure, for 1977, is 49.5%. Whether this upward trend will continue to increase so quickly is uncertain, but with the increasing numbers of working mothers, it seems unlikely that it will decrease significantly.

Preprimary enrollment, and any educational benefits this experience provides toward later success in elementary school, is clearly a function of family income. The proportion of children aged 3-5 who are enrolled in preprimary programs rises steadily from approximately 43% of those from homes with family incomes under \$10,000 to 78% of the children from families with incomes of \$50,000 or more. To the extent that students with preprimary education have an advantage over those who do not, this is a significant equity issue.

Turning to enrollment figures for public elementary schools, we find that enrollment peaked in 1971 at 27.7 million. An enrollment of 24.2 million is projected for the Fall of 1979, and a further drop to 23.6 million in 1983. From then on, enrollment may begin to rise slightly again, assuming that the present low birth rate does not fall even lower. The Census Bureau projected

that the total population of 5-13 year olds will rise from a low of 29.1 million in 1985 to 32.6 million in 1990. Of course, should the birth rate rise, enrollment could be substantially higher.

It is important to note that, just at the point that the number of children aged 5-13 begins to rise in the mid-80's, the number of potential new teachers turning 22 years of age begins to decline. At the same time, the proportion of college entrants aspiring to a career in teaching has shrunk every year since the beginning of the teacher surplus (dropping from 22.1% in 1969 to 6.5% in 1975). As a result of these factors, there is at least the potential for a shortage of elementary teachers in the late 1980's. A contributing factor is that, in 1971, 22% of all teachers were 50 or older. Hence, by the mid-80's significant numbers of teachers will be retiring. Somewhat offsetting this need for more new teachers is the large number of college graduates of previous years who have teaching credentials but who were unable to get teaching positions. Many left teaching for other professions or for child-rearing. One large unknown will be how many of these persons can be attracted back to the profession if a shortage of elementary teachers develops. Any consideration of that issue must take into account the degree to which teaching salaries fall behind the rate of inflation.

Secondary Enrollment

If the future pattern of elementary enrollment presents a mixed picture, that for secondary enrollment is much clearer. The Census Bureau projects that the number of 14-17 year olds will fall from 15.8 million in 1980 to 14.4 million in 1985, and then to 12.8 million by 1990. Only in 1991 will a slight increase begin. Thus, high school enrollment can be expected to fall throughout the 1980's. Not all of these 14-17 year olds, of course, are in school.

The National Center for Educational Statistics reports that enrollment in grades 9-12 in public schools peaked in 1976 at 14.3 million. It is projected to fall to 12.7 million by 1981, continuing down to 11.8 million in 1986. As a result, the job possibilities for new high school teachers would seem to be quite bleak, and high school administrators can expect to face the multiple personnel, curricular and budgetary problems of declining enrollment throughout the decade.

Enrollment Variations

In considering the impact of these variations in elementary and secondary enrollment, it is important to note that there will very likely be significant differences in what happens in various

parts of the country. The sunbelt, certain suburban areas, and many rural areas are now experiencing growth in their school-age populations. Since 1970, for the first time in the nation's history, the population growth of non-metropolitan counties in the U.S. has exceeded that in metropolitan areas. Thus, some school districts may experience significant enrollment increases during the 1980's, at the same time that others lose a fourth or even a half of their present enrollment.

The problems of rapid growth could be particularly acute in certain areas of Colorado, Montana, North Dakota and Wyoming if these develop into significant sources of coal, synthetic petroleum or natural gas. These new industries may attract large numbers of workers who settle in "boom towns" in various parts of these states. Historically, those moving to such areas have disproportionately been young adults with children. This could contribute to the depopulation of some school districts and the need to expand others rapidly. One key question facing many high school teachers particularly will be their willingness to relocate if they wish to remain active in the profession.

The Large City School Districts

There is every indication that the problems faced by central city school districts in major metropolitan areas may intensify over the coming decade. The pattern of migration in and out of metropolitan areas is having the net effect of increasingly concentrating minority students in the cities and non-minority students outside of them. This process has been going on for some time. The year 1964 was a milestone: for the first time, the number of citizens in metropolitan suburbs surpassed the number in central cities. Today, almost 60% of those living in metropolitan areas live in the suburbs. Many suburbs have now surpassed their central cities in the provision of jobs. While it is possible that energy problems may cause some population movement back to the city, it is also possible that the movement of jobs out to the suburbs could be accelerated. In addition, should the government invest heavily in inexpensive, rapid mass transit between city and suburb, this movement of white families with young children to the suburbs could actually be accelerated.

As the racial mix in the central city schools has been changing, so has the family status of all American students. Between 1970 and 1977, the population of children under 18 living with both parents went from 89% to 85% for whites, and from 58% to 47% for blacks. At the same time, the labor force participation rate for women has grown from 37% in 1962 to 48% in 1977, and is projected to grow to the 60-70% range by 1990.

One result has been a movement toward lower density households. More people are delaying marriage, or are divorced, or are having fewer or no children, all of which results in fewer persons per apartment or per house. Husband/wife households as a percentage of total new households declined from an average of 53% over the 1950-1970 period to only 29% over the 1970-1975 period.

Central city school districts face the prospect of a declining total number of students and an increasing proportion of non-white students, many of whom are low-income, have working mothers, and/or do not come from intact, two-parent families. The problems of providing a quality education under such conditions of racial and socioeconomic isolation may become even more severe than they are now. This is particularly true because these districts may experience serious financial problems as a smaller and smaller proportion of the voting population has children in the schools, on the one hand, and as an aging teacher force at the top of the pay scale utilizes militant teacher unions to keep pace with inflation on the other. With the Supreme Court disinclined to order school integration across district lines, and increasing energy costs making transportation to reduce racial isolation more and more expensive, the problem of providing high quality educational experiences to large and increasing proportions of students from low-income and minority families will be a central educational dilemma of the 1980's and beyond.

This situation may be further complicated by large numbers of non-English speaking Asian and Hispanic immigrants, legal and illegal. Indeed, if their numbers continue to increase rapidly, the central city public schools may experience an Americanization challenge and mission not unlike that of the 1890's.

Colleges and Universities

Predictions of college and university enrollment are complicated by a number of variables not found in considering elementary and secondary enrollment. College attendance is not mandatory, and there have recently been significant swings in the proportion who choose to go on to higher education. Many students attend colleges and universities at some distance from their homes, so that attendance cannot easily be predicted from local population

figures. Students who do not go to college after high school may at any later time choose to enroll, on either a full- or part-time basis, as a great many in fact are doing. In 1976, for example, 22% of college freshman had waited from one to three years after high school graduation before enrolling. Colleges and universities, unlike public elementary and secondary schools, are not tuition-free, so that costs can be a major factor in both the decision to attend or not attend and the choice of institution.

Accepting these uncertainties as given, the basic fact is that between 1980 and 1990, the 18-21 year old cohort will lose over 2.6 million persons, a decline of 15%. Since, in 1975, 48% of the total enrollment in higher education came from this group (as did 64% of the full-time undergraduate enrollment), this is bound to affect college and university attendance.

At the same time, the proportion of the 18-24 year old cohort who are minorities will be increasing from 15.3% in 1980 to 16.5% in 1985 to 17.9% in 1990. Because of the reduced number of students graduating from high school, colleges will have to compete with the military and with business (which, for the first time in decades, will be recruiting from a reduced number of high school graduates seeking entry level positions). Since the military services are barely able to recruit enough volunteers from the present large cohort of high school graduates, the reintroduction of the draft may well be necessary.

One major unknown in the college enrollment picture is the number of foreign students seeking admission to American colleges and universities. In 1976-1977, over 200,000 foreign non-immigrants attended American academic institutions. Most of these students are men whose majors are heavily concentrated in engineering, business management, and the sciences. The largest single contingent has been from Iran, but this may not continue. While the excess capacity that will develop in American institutions of higher education in the 1980's may seem the perfect answer to the higher educational needs of developing nations which cannot afford to provide expensive scientific and technical education for their populations, it is not clear that all American institutions are prepared to deal with large numbers of foreign students in a way that is mutually beneficial and satisfactory.

As is true of elementary and secondary schools, there will likely be widely scattered patterns of increase and decline in college and university enrollments depending on local circumstances. The American Council on Education projects that from 1975 to 1985, the 18 year old population will drop by 50% in Rhode Island, 44% in the District of Columbia, and 38% in West Virginia, while rising 26% in North Carolina, 32% in Nevada and 36% in Alaska.

The National Center for Educational Statistics projects that, while full-time college enrollment over the 1976-1986 period will fall by 1%, part-time enrollment will increase by 45%. Enrollment in public institutions is projected to grow by 23% at the same time that enrollment in private schools falls by 5%. Although four-year institutions are expected to lose 3% of their enrollment over that period, two-year institutions are expected to gain 54%, and graduate enrollment is expected to increase by 15%.

Further complicating the situation is the fact that during the early 1980's there may also be a "sibling squeeze" because of the large number of families having several children of college age simultaneously. This will be most intense in black and lower-income families. This may result in financial constraints which cause significant numbers of potential students in this situation either to give up or at least delay their college plans. Finally, much of the enrollment decrease will still be affecting colleges and universities as the decade ends. Over the 1980-1994 period, enrollment is expected to drop by 1.8 million, and the need for faculty by 100,000.

All of this suggests that publicly supported institutions located in large cities, structured to accommodate part-time students easily, with healthy graduate enrollments and an environment attractive to non-white and foreign students, may actually experience enrollment increases. Conversely, the four-year private college located in a rural area and totally dependent on full-time boarding students may be in considerable difficulty. It is projected that many of these latter institutions will not survive, or will do so only with great difficulty.

II. Issues for Educational Governance

At the elementary and secondary level, public education is characterized by an extraordinarily large number of groups who may legitimately claim a voice in the decision-making process. Parents, teachers, principles, central office personnel, superintendents, school board members, taxpayer groups, state boards and superintendents, the governor, the legislature, Federal officials, and even the students themselves can all quite legitimately say: I have a right to participate in the making of that decision. This makes educational leadership extremely difficult, since any one of these groups may, in effect, veto a decision. As a result, it is often easiest to do this year essentially what was done last year.

In the 1980's educational governance may become even more difficult. New pressures and demands may make it impossible to do what was done previously, and yet a consensus on what else to do will be very difficult to obtain. Costs do not decrease in proportion to enrollment, so that, in an inflationary economy, increasing numbers of school districts will be spending more money to educate fewer students. Meanwhile, the public, pinched by inflation, may exert strong pressures to hold down all government spending. Spending limits may go into state laws and constitutional requirements (Proposition 13 is one obvious example).

The population of persons aged 65 and over will be rising steadily during the 1980's and beyond, going from 10.7% of the population in 1976 to 11.2% in 1980 and 12.2% in 1990. Because many of those over 65 are living on fixed incomes and are particularly hard hit by inflation, it will be difficult for them to support heavy school expenditures. An increasing number of single persons and families without children may also be less inclined to vote for educational expenditures.

One index of these trends may be found in school bond issue referenda. In 1964, 75% were approved. By 1969, this had fallen to 57%. In 1975 only 46.3% were approved. 1976, however, saw an increase to 50.8%, and 1977 to 55.6%. The trend has been toward a substantial reduction in the number of bond referenda (there were 1,625 in 1967 and only 858 in 1977). In part, this is because less construction is necessary as student populations decline, but it is possibly also because school boards want to avoid proposals they believe are likely to be turned down by voters.

The consensus of forecasters is that the 1980's will be a difficult time economically. Even Herman Kahn, generally known for his optimistic views, sees this period as one of uncertainty and malaise. He cites a study predicting yearly economic growth of only 3% in the U.S. during the 1980's, declining to 2% in the 1990's. As we leave the era of cheap food and cheap energy, characterized as it was by rapid growth in income and thus considerable latitude for error, adjustment will be painful. All governance will be difficult. Many political scientists have been predicting a series of one-term presidents, for example. School governance will not escape these problems. There very likely will be an intense need for training and assistance in leadership at all levels of the educational system.

III. The Impact of Microcomputers

The most significant technical innovation of the last decade has been the miniaturization of electronic circuits on small chips, making possible very complex switching and computer operations in small space, with little power usage and at very low cost. It is now possible to use these chips to make a microprocessor (a general purpose device that will perform a wide range of tasks programmed by the user). When combined with memory circuits and input-output devices, the results is a microcomputer. The present cost of a complete microcomputer system, suitable for a small business, is approximately \$7,000. As cathode ray tubes are replaced by flat-screen video displays (essentially large integrated circuits), now in the prototype state, these costs will fall dramatically. By 1988, costs may be only a tenth of what they are now or even lower. A home computer may then cost no more than a bicycle.

The critical issue is what impact this will have on the schools. One almost certain impact will be the need to include at least some familiarity with computers in the curriculum, since they will be so common that ability to understand and use them will become one aspect of literacy. But the more uncertain issue is computer usage in the instructional process itself.

The problem is not hardware, but software. The cost of memory and calculation devices has already been lowered so dramatically that there is no question that schools can provide almost any instructional program they wish at reasonable cost in terms of equipment. (Small simple devices are already being purchased by individual parents for use by their children. One such device, "The Little Professor", provides drill and practice in basic arithmetic and sells for \$12.00. Already, over three million have been sold. A more complex spelling and vocabulary device called "Speak and Spell" sells for \$60.00, and not only displays a word's correct spelling on a screen but enunciates it to the child. As prices drop, more and more middle-class families will have home computers, so that some children will learn programming--and perhaps a good deal of mathematics also--at home from their parents).

The software--the computer program that sequences what the computer does next--for such devices as "The Little Professor" is relatively straightforward. These units work well for simple drill, particularly for students who learn quickly and give right answers more often than not. Serious group instruction by computer, however, would require far more complex programs than now exist. The reason, at root, is simple: such programs, to be truly responsive to a wide variety of students, must react appropriately to a very large set of possible wrong answers. That is, as students sit at the console and work arithmetic problems or try

to spell words or insert grammatically correct verbs in sentences, effective instruction requires that the computer not only be able to point out that a given answer is incorrect, but also to react to what the student is doing wrong and provide some kind of help so that the error is not repeated. The more difficult the work, the larger the number of possible errors that can be made. This then involves very complex "branching" instructions to handle a wide variety of combinations of errors and ways to correct them. The computer program involved becomes extraordinarily complex. All attempts to utilize computers for instruction thus far have foundered on this problem.

On the other hand, should someone come up with a significant programming breakthrough, the whole situation could change. Once a computer program is finally written, it can be mass-produced at very little cost and used repeatedly at multiple sites. Should even one ingenious simulation game or program for computer-assisted instruction (CAI) lead to significant gains in achievement in some area of basic instruction, the resulting publicity would lead to pressure for its quick adoption nation-wide. There would probably be a commitment of funds for additional development--most likely on the Federal level--given the money needed to write and test such complex computer programs and the potential nation-wide use once the development is completed. These developments would then create intense demands for in-service training in these new materials and their use.

Depending on how extensive such usage became, the entire process could involve significant changes in the role of teachers, new physical layouts in the schools, individualization of instruction, and a reconsideration of the wisdom of grouping by age. All of this may or may not occur, but given the existence of low-cost hardware, there is considerable potential for a software breakthrough which could leave behind schools that were unaware of all of CAI's ultimate implications.

IV. Education and Work

One of the salient issues for American society over the coming decades is whether the predominant pattern--continuing in school full-time until 18-22 years of age, and then working continuously until retirement at 65--will continue. There is serious discussion by some authors of the desirability of moving toward a more balanced mix of education, work and leisure throughout the life span, both in the sense of job sharing (two persons fill one full-time job, allowing each half time for education, child care, or whatever), and also in the sense of alternating periods of full time work, education, and leisure throughout life.

These discussions are being supported by recent research findings on adult growth and development, which indicate that the alternating periods of upset and change, integration and stability which have been widely observed in childhood and adolescence in fact continue throughout adult life. For many adults, a return to the university for a year or two is not only a time for advanced education, but a time to reconsider life's purposes, perhaps to change careers, certainly to re-examine values.

Whether this change in what is considered the proper mix of work, education and leisure will become a reality, however, is not clear. There are certainly a great many structural obstacles, although there are indications that some of these obstacles may lessen. Colleges and universities that were formerly little interested in part-time students (particularly at the graduate level) have become more receptive now that there is a downturn in student enrollment. In 1967-1968, 1,100 colleges and universities reported offering adult and continuing education. By 1975-1976, this figure had doubled to over 2,000 institutions. Part-time college enrollment is becoming much more common. Since 1970 part-time enrollment has increased from 32% of total enrollment to 40%, and is expected to continue increasing substantially. Men often did not feel that it was financially possible to take a year or two off for study in mid-life, but increasing numbers of working spouses and fewer or no children create a different situation. Changing careers was once something that suggested a kind of instability. It has now become so common that this is less and less an issue. One Census sample found that a third of the adults surveyed had changed occupations in the preceeding five years.

Demographic patterns may also lead to increased pressures for career change and reconsideration in mid-life. Between 1981 and 1987, the number of 35 to 44 year olds will increase by 28%. In 1972, there were only 98 workers 35 to 44 for every 100 aged 45-54. By 1985, there will be 142. This could lead to a "promotion squeeze" as the large, well-educated baby boom generation competes for a small number of advanced positions. At least some career ladders will become severely congested. This may lead to demands for career retraining or perhaps to serious reconsideration of lifestyle goals.

While the proportion of workers who are college graduates will continue to grow, the percentage of professional-technical jobs is projected to remain approximately constant. By 1980 there may be as many as two and a half college graduates competing for every well-paid professional, technical or managerial position. Even in 1970-1971, only 64% of American men were able to find initial professional, technical or managerial jobs when they graduated from college. The recent drop in the proportion of men attending college is no doubt at least partially due to this situation. (The proportion of women continues to grow, as more opportunities are opened to them).

Should a movement to break up the present life pattern which makes education synonymous with youth, work with adulthood and retirement with old age actually take hold, there would be a wide range of implications for the schools. The emphasis on "learning how to learn" in the elementary school could be expected to increase. Cooperative education and other school/work combinations would become more popular in high school. Fewer students would go immediately from high school to college. Attempts would be made to find the period in a person's life and career when a given subject matter would be learned best. The problem of offering night courses and part-time instruction while still maintaining a high academic standard can be expected to trouble colleges and universities proud of their reputation for a high quality of education.

One essential question is whether the next decade or two will see some groundbreaking social inventions in this area. Social technologies, like scientific technologies, channel people's efforts and increase their potential. The GI bill, the 25-year low downpayment mortgage, the credit card, social security, the community college, the National Institute of Education itself, all are social inventions that have channeled resources and created opportunities. The area of education/work/leisure is ripe for social invention. The concept of job-sharing, recently mandated for Federal agencies, is only one small example. Research will be needed to find out who takes advantage of job-sharing and with what effects. The degree to which education, both within and outside of schools, will play a significantly changed role in adult life in the next decade or two will be as dependent on social innovation as our capacity to cope with the energy shortage will depend on technological innovation.

V. Discussion

The future, as O'Toole points out, cannot be predicted. The purpose of examining present trends and possible future implications is not to predict the future, but to raise our consciousness about future implications of present decisions. Many of the possibilities discussed in this essay may well not occur. This may be because of the intervention of unexpected factors, or because negative outcomes were foreseen and steps taken to prevent those results. This, indeed, is a major use of futures research: to select the most beneficial scenario from among multiple possibilities and to work to make that scenario more probable than any less desirable outcomes.

Another equally helpful use of futures research is to develop the habit of positioning oneself to handle any of a number of possible contingencies, and perhaps particularly to be able to minimize the loss in any given situation.

The school board that seriously reviews a variety of possible changes in enrollment that may occur over the coming decades may well choose to build a building without supporting interior walls. Such a building can, in the future, be converted to any one of a number of uses depending on the situation which actually develops.

Some probable future difficulties are already evident today. The problem of providing quality education in a socio-economically and racially isolated environment, for example, is not only serious already, but gives every indication of becoming more serious in the decades ahead. This problem may well be compounded if the use of home microcomputers is largely confined to the middle and upper classes. It will be further exacerbated if high school graduates from racially and socio-economically isolated central city schools go on to college and universities which, while marked by an increasing proportion of minority students, have never moved beyond a superficial desegregation. If desegregation means more physical co-presence, minority students will continue to feel alienated and isolated. Given intensifying competition for professional jobs and the importance of informal networks in obtaining such jobs, this developing situation could lead to increased racial tension and social disruption throughout our society. As is evident even in this very introductory review of current trends and possibilities, the educational demands of the 1980's will require all of the assistance that research can bring to bear.

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The usual array of footnotes and citations has been omitted in this report for ease of reading. It needs to be explicitly stated, however, that this paper borrows very heavily from the sources listed below. While errors and misunderstandings are the responsibility of the author, the paper could not possibly have been written without the insight and data found in:

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Population and Education: How Demographic Trends Will Shape the U.S.

by Joseph F. Coates

Birthrates in the United States have declined significantly over the past 18 years, with 28% fewer children being born now than were born in 1939. This "baby bust," which has followed the post-war baby boom, has already reduced the number of children enrolled in elementary schools by about 10%, and a drop of another 7 or 8% by the mid-1980s is certain. As the children born during the baby bust become older, their numbers will affect high school enrollments. During the 1980s, enrollments may drop as much as 25%. These statistics represent a basic, nationwide trend, but other demographic factors—those which most concern planners on the regional, state and local levels—make school planning much more complex and uncertain than simple aggregate fertility rates suggest.

Other trends that will affect education:

- Women are increasingly entering the work force and staying longer. This will create more demands to change curriculum and add new school-centered services.

- Continued immigration will place special burdens on school systems in major cities, where immigrants tend to settle.

- Local mobility—the ease with which populations move within this country—will create increasing uncertainty among education planners.

The principal impact of these demographic trends occurs at the state and local levels. Since this is where most education planning is done, improved demographic study must begin at these levels. To see just what problems arise from these trends, it is useful to examine them in detail.

The Changing Family

The traditional image of the family—mother, father, and children, around which public policy has been framed—is increasingly at odds with reality. The growth of the single-parent family is one of the major demographic trends affecting schools. Approximately 45% of children born in 1976 will have lived with a single parent for some time before reaching 18 years of age. Between 1970 and 1976, the number of children living with a divorced mother increased by two-thirds, and the number living with a single mother increased by about 40%. The number of female-headed families with children has increased by over 250% since 1930. These families comprise 41% of all poverty-level families; the limited income of these families creates new demands and stresses on all public services, including schools.

Another factor relating to marriage and the family which can influence the school is the tendency of women to defer marriage. In 1970, 12% fewer 20-year-old women had been married than in 1960. The decline in the number of married 24-year-olds was only 7%. This suggests that women are not turning away from marriage in any great number; they are merely delaying it. During that period of deferral, women tend to enter the work force or to continue their education in order to prepare for work.

The entry of women into the work force is perhaps the demographic trend that most profoundly influences curriculum, services, the child's environment and the whole family structure. The shifting roles that women assume as they enter the work force create a demand for curriculum changes to prepare women for their entry. And working mothers need services to take care of their children.

The effects on schools of women in the work force will be great. First, there will be a decline in volunteerism. At a time when the school system is experiencing greater demand for volunteers to

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meet the pressures for more services, fewer women will be available. An example of this has been experienced by the League of Women Voters. Much of the envelope-sticking and stuffing that once was done with free labor now must be done on a fee-for-service basis because so many of the League's members have moved into the work force. Similar effects will soon be felt by schools.

Demographers associate increasing female participation in the work force with a decline in the number of children a family will bear. And education encourages participation in the work force. In the future there will be a cycle in which education promotes work, work promotes a decline in fertility, and declining fertility increases the problems of elementary and secondary schools. The increasing number of dual-income families, especially among middle-class managerial and professional households, provides more discretionary money, money which may lead such families to send their children to private schools or to relocate their residences outside of central cities. The exodus of middle-class families may bring about a big-city public school system whose sole purpose is to educate the underclass.

Female participation in the work force may lead to changes in the purposes and structures of public schools. Schools will face an increased demand to overcome stylized gender roles associated with occupational choices. Career counselling may change to meet new work-sex roles. The new role models for girls will probably increase the number of students desiring vocationally-oriented curricula and counselling. Deferred marriage and earlier entry into the work force may create a demand for curricula that focus upon independent living, and training in financial management and personal affairs. Those who live in the lowest economic strata and are burdened by small children or single parenthood need education that focuses on improving one's economic status through continuation course certification and specially-tailored high-school programs.

The increased demand for day care and nursery care for preschool and young school children of working mothers may be met by the school systems. For children roughly aged 7 to 13, the school day is not quite long enough to accommodate the needs of single-parent working households. There are efforts in some communities to extend the length of afternoon care, not by extending the school day, but by extending the use of school buildings. Some 15% of children in this age group can be usefully served by extending the use of facilities from 3 p.m. to 4 p.m.

The family is becoming less of a dominant factor in the socialization of

the child. A child now entering the first grade may have been exposed to nursery school or day care. He may have been involved with Head Start or related programs. He may have had extensive exposure to television. The size of his family is different from what it was for children born 10 years ago. Organized religious groups, grandparents and other members of the family, and adult neighbors seem to be playing a declining role in the socialization of children.

The reduced amount of time available for parenting in families where females work may create a demand for new school services that deal with functions traditionally learned at home. Schools may need to teach the skills of eating, drinking, dressing, social behavior, deportment, manners, self-control, and other functions to compensate for reduced parental care. In view of the underuse of schools and of surplus teacher capacity, the possibility of extending school functions into these areas may seem quite attractive to teachers' unions. However, a word of caution is necessary: Data from social psychological literature indicate that children put together with large numbers of other children for extended periods of time may suffer a reduced mental development.

Immigration and Non-English Speaking Students

Immigration accounts for one-fourth of net population growth in the United States. Since immigrants tend to settle in metropolitan areas, continuing immigration will create a chronic source of stress for big-city school systems.

There is an interesting relationship between high school dropout rates and the language spoken at home. Where English is the language spoken, or where English is spoken along with some other non-English language, the dropout rate is between 8 and 10%. But where a language other than English is the only language spoken at home, the dropout rate rises to 38%.

Among the specific population of those of Spanish origin, the situation is even worse. The principal non-English language spoken in the United States by people four years old and over is Spanish, spoken by almost 10 million people. Among school-age children, about five million speak Spanish as their primary language. Where English is spoken among families of Spanish descent, the dropout rate of their children is 14 to 15%. Where only Spanish is spoken, the dropout rate is 45%.

Among students who do not measure up to standard performance, non-English speaking students represent the biggest problem. Only 12% of English-speaking students are two or more grades below their peers. In grades one through four, approximately 17% of the

non-English speaking students are two grades below mode: at the high school level, some 35% are two or more grades below mode.

The implication of these statistics is significant when they are coupled with the long-term movement of American society toward that of an information society. Approximately 55% of the work force is now in the information business. This situation raises questions about the value of bilingual education, and whether it denies students the chance for an economically useful education. The data suggest that, as now taught, students of foreign origin may be precluded from getting their first foot up on the economic ladder.

If the higher cost of bilingual education of students whose primary language is not English precludes other priorities, the level of education of English-speaking students may be reduced, further accelerating the decline of the urban school systems. Whether or not bilingual education continues, the steady stream of foreign-born students will renew the kinds of cross-cultural stresses associated with students who are hard to acculturate. This often results in delinquency and poor school performance, particularly for urban school systems. And proposed changes in the status of new illegal immigrants might encourage them to make greater use of the school system for their children. This will especially affect big-city schools

and the smaller communities in the Southwest and in California.

Local Mobility and Internal Migration

Internal mobility and migration are perhaps the demographic factors that most perturb education planners at the state and local level. Between 16 and 18% of the U.S. population moves annually. The data reveal some evidence that people seem to be attracted to the city for work and other opportunities; but as they enter the childbearing years, people have a tendency to move out of central cities.

The overall effect of internal migration is a trend of movement out of the city and into suburban and rural areas. From 1970 to 1974, cities experienced a net exodus of 1.8 million people. The eight largest cities saw a net out-migration of 1.2%. Population growth in rural areas during this same period was 5.6%, contrasting with a growth of 4% for the nation as a whole. Educational management in these nonmetropolitan and small-community growth centers may run into special problems, because such growth was unexpected. The tax base may be inadequate to meet the demands caused by the influx of people, and the social values of the new migrants may be substantially at odds with those of the local people. The redistribution of population will create an acute problem for education planning in boom towns. In order to come to grips

with the energy crisis, we will open up coal resources in Wyoming, the Dakotas, Colorado and other areas in the West, and Kentucky and southern Illinois in the east. One can reasonably anticipate surges in population for which the local communities in these areas will be totally unprepared.

There is a long-term trend toward the equalization of regional incomes. Once the nation's economic backwater, the sun belt areas of the South, the Southwest and southern regions east of the Rockies are all currently undergoing economic growth. In the early 1930s, regional income varied from 50% below average to 50% above the national average. In 1974 this range had narrowed to about 15% to 20%. Equalization may reduce regional differences in cost and quality of education, undercutting regional disparities of funds available per child on a statewide basis.

Migration in and out of metropolitan areas is having the effect of concentrating minority students within the big cities and non-minority students outside of those big cities. This phenomenon, along with concern about the quality of schools, and about the curricula, are increasing white and middle-class dissatisfaction. There are only a small number of options open to middle-class parents who do not wish to have their children experience the effects of the decline in metropolitan school systems. One alternative is to withdraw the pupil to a pri-

vate or parochial school. The data suggest that families that have the financial option of sending their children to private schools tend to exercise it. Even families with incomes in the \$10,000-\$15,000 range often send children to private schools.

For families without the income to send their children to private schools, the alternative may be a change of residence. Other options include early graduation and entry into college—a process that may stimulate programs of graduation based on credentials—and tracking, or grouping students by ability. In any case the net effect of all these alternatives open to a white or middle-class population—those dissatisfied with school systems in urban areas—is resegregation.

Teenage Childbearing

The only group in the United States now undergoing significant expansion in birthrates is that of females under age 15. Of the 3,144,198 live births in the United States in 1973, 12,642 were born to girls under 15 years of age. This situation has several implications for the educational system. Young motherhood interferes with the ability of the mother to continue her education. Children

who are born to young mothers are far more likely to suffer a variety of congenital defects. These children born to adolescent mothers are themselves more likely to bear children at an early age, thus further burdening the school system.

Junior high school curricula, services and goals have never come to grips with the onset of puberty. Especially critical is the increasing rate of early sexual activity among boys and girls of junior high school and high school age, creating both immediate and long-term social and educational problems and needs associated with adolescent childbearing.

Decline in Enrollment

The national decline in enrollments does not imply universal distress—nor is it a universal phenomenon. A decline is occurring predominantly in the Midwest, Mid-Atlantic, and Pacific states, while the South and Southwest are experiencing a boom. To complicate matters further, both enrollment declines and increases often occur in the same state, with different small districts experiencing both shrinking and growing student populations. Especially hard hit by the general trend will be the big cities, already in great fiscal distress.

Thirty-seven states have experienced enrollment declines since 1970. Sixteen of these states have lost at least 4% of their students. Simultaneous with the declining enrollments has been an increase in minority enrollment in big cities. In the period between 1968 and 1974 the average student minority enrollment was 67.1%. School enrollment in the 27 largest cities peaked in 1970, and is now back at the level it was in 1962. The exodus seems to have occurred primarily among middle-class

and white students. Looking at a sample of those 27 cities, one finds that the percent of minority school enrollment in almost every case is substantially above the percent minority population in the city. For example, Atlanta has a 32% minority population; minority students there comprised 85% of the school system in 1974. Denver's population is 11% minority; in the schools, 47%. St. Louis is 41% minority; the school system is 70% minority. And the same is true of impoverished families. The percent of students from poor families in the big cities is far in excess of the percent of families in poverty: 33.4% versus 11.6%.

Response to Decline in Enrollment

In the face of declining enrollment, there are three general strategies available to school administrators: One alternative is to shrink by reducing staff and the so-called "frills" such as sports, music, and art. The second alternative is to expand services to current educational clientele. Places to expand include after-school care, courses in personal development, expansion of curriculum, and smaller classes with more individualized attention.

A third solution for school systems facing declining enrollment is to expand services to include new clientele. Pre-school day-care may be part of this solution. Another is the entry of school functions into health services (such as immunization) and community center functions. But the most important new client for secondary school systems may be the adult. Adults have the need for credentials, courses teaching career skills, hobbies and recreation, and training of economic value, such as car and home repair. And one can anticipate that the coming increase in costs of energy will create a demand for courses teaching home conservation.

The Need for Improved Demographic Studies

Familiarity with local circumstances can play a major part in determining whether or not a given forecast is useful to policy planners. In general, however, there is not enough expertise at the state and local levels to meet this need. The Census Bureau's state-level population projections are about 10 years old. The upcoming Census of 1980 will give substantial opportunity to improve the means of collecting data on a local level. The need for demographic research relevant to plans concerning adult education, day care, nursery care, and after-school services is increasing along with the increased demand for such services. Such demographic data is essential for the wise policy-making needed to build effective educational systems for the future.

The Student of the Future: A Profile

Phoebe P. Hollis, Ed. D.
Department of Communication
University of Nebraska at Omaha
Omaha, Nebraska 68182
(402) 554-2600

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The Student of the Future: A Profile

In contemporary society relatively few Americans consciously think about the significance of social change. The rate of change currently being experienced by society has produced disastrous consequences for people and institutions unprepared to cope with the shock or impact. Within the last twenty-five years, the element of change has permeated society with such accelerating speed and force that it has caused society to be in a constant state of flux which has produced many aspects of life not to endure from generation to generation. We, the American society, value scientific innovation and technological change, but this continual innovation may be a source of strain where many of our "typically" American attitudes, values, behaviors, and social institutions can be interpreted as being attempts to adapt to the stress caused by the constant element of change.

Throughout the history of American society, our social order has been flexible enough to respond to changes as society demanded. The system, which inculcated the concept of growth and progress as desirable and essential, responded to the challenges and demands in such a way so as to promote progress and development. Today, however, society is faced with a different situation where the element of change is now

a problem with which society must contend rather than being a solution to its ills. This constant rate of change portends massive adjustments within all areas of our social order, particularly within the educational realm.

Pressures from our contemporary society produce many changes in our social institutions, and the pressures from such change, in turn, affect contemporary society. Many institutions react to changes that already have occurred (rather than anticipating change) and probably the most obvious example would be our educational institutions. The educational environment provided for the college and university student often receives full impact of social change, and in an effort to determine what type of student will be in the future, we must pay attention to factors arising out of the general culture and social organization. In order to describe the student of the future, we must look at the forces of action that are coming into play because the interaction of these forces will produce effects that will be felt throughout society for the next several decades. There appear suitable areas which illustrate the effects that change has on the student, and by assessing this impact a description of the future student may be obtained. Evidence for composing the profile may be found from analyzing the consequences that change has had on society within the

demographic trends, work force, social institutions, and mankind and his values.

Demographic Trends

The most overwhelming evidence of change on society that possibly carries the most impact for education may be seen in the demographic trends now emerging. Characteristic of the United States population is the high degree of ethnic and racial heterogeneity coupled by important regional differences. In this pluralistic society, the result is the creation of a multi-cultural, multi-racial society in which almost every nationality and race can be found. Another characteristic is that the population is becoming increasingly urban with approximately seventy percent of the population now living in metropolitan areas. From a nation which was predominately rural and agricultural, the nation has now become one of urban dwellers relying largely upon the use of technology to provide the necessities of life. The shift may be also attributed to changes in the economy, increased industrialization, and better work opportunities and advancements.

These, in turn, have created a mobile society, which produces implications affecting the student and educational

planning. The ease with which population moves creates problems and uncertainty for education mainly because the impact of this mobility occurs at the state and local levels. Between sixteen and eighteen percent of the U.S. population moves annually and the trend is toward a movement out of center city and into suburban and rural areas. Problems from this movement include that the tax base may be inadequate to meet the demands of the people and that the social values of the new migrants may be substantially at odds with those of the local people.¹

In addition, the significant decline of the birth-rate from the past eighteen years carries some impact for the schools. The future enrollments in the elementary school will drop about ten percent because twenty-eight percent fewer children are being born now than were born in 1959. Another drop of about seven or eight percent by the mid-1980's is forecasted,² and this decrease will affect every level of the educational system from pre-school to post-secondary training.

Work Force

Along with changes in the population are the simultaneous changes occurring in the labor force. Noticeable changes in the increase in numbers as well as the composition

may be observed. Since 1950 the number of employed males has increased twenty-six percent, but the number of female workers has soared to ninety-three percent for the same period.³ The unprecedented numbers of women entering the labor force during the 1970's began one of the most dramatic periods in history of the role of women in the United States. Women between twenty-five to thirty-four years of age composed the most spectacular increase in labor force participation with their participation rate rising to sixty-eight percent in 1978. This is of particular importance because seventy percent of this age group were married and had dependent children under age eighteen at home. Married women accounted for the largest part of the increase in participation while twenty-five percent of all women workers were single and ten percent were divorced. The reasons for this upsurge of employment are not clear, but women can now be found in every job category within the work arena.⁴ However the impact from this upsurge of employment is clear because of the profound influence that it has on the educational scene. The shifting roles that women assume as they enter the work force create a demand for curriculum changes to prepare women for their entry. Changes on all levels, from secondary into graduate schools, reflect the impact that women now have on the curriculum.

For many people already participating in the work force, change resulting from the knowledge explosion of recent decades means a constant updating of knowledge peculiar to their own expertise in making a living. This is particularly true for many professions such as law, medicine, engineering, and the true sciences where practitioners experience the doubling of knowledge in their respective fields every ten to fifteen years. For example, in the medical profession an estimated two million pages of technical literature and about one hundred seventy thousand medical abstracts are published annually. The job of reading and digesting this massive quantity of supposedly new knowledge and techniques is at once observed as an impossibility of the practitioner to keep abreast and current in his profession. Hence, specialization is increasingly demanded of the practitioner as a means to keep current within a particular field of activity and study. A similar condition prevails within the legal profession where new categories of specialized knowledge compete with the older doctrines, illustrative of which are the revenue or tax laws, consumer protection laws, civil rights and anti-discrimination laws, and a whole revamped and amended system of procedural laws for use in attempting to assure justice to people.

Social Institutions

Another way that the element of change penetrates society is through the social institutions. Among those most directly affected by change have been the schools, the homes, and the economic structures. Demands from contemporary society have produced changes in these social institutions, and the pressures from such change, in turn, have affected the social order. Unfortunately, the sought-after modification usually takes its toll in another social institution, and the subsequent condition is much like a ricochet effect where implications from the change constantly reverberate. Illustrative of this effect are many of the recent social movements that have occurred in the United States. Such movements as the civil rights movement, the women's liberation movement, and the affirmative action movement resulted from pressure to achieve greater personal security and welfare until legislation was passed and the laws were modified or changed as a result of society exerting the pressure for such change.

From the many changes found within society, the social character of the United States has shifted slowly to being more self affirmative while the spirit has become more meritocratic. This image is reflected in all institutions where reverberations of varying degree are felt, but it

is especially noticeable in the family unit. The traditional family of mother, father, and children is changing rapidly into the single-parent family. Approximately forty-five percent of children born in 1976 will live with a single parent for some time before reaching eighteen years of age. Since 1950 the number of female-headed families with children has increased by over 250 percent. Consequently, the home, the family, the neighborhoods, and even the churches are beginning to relinquish their power as socializing influences. All are becoming engulfed in the rapidity of change, so much so that they are no longer recognized as the "pillars of society."

Mankind and Values

In addition to the recipients mentioned above, mankind eventually receives the impact of change. The rapid pace of social change has both a physical and psychological effect on him. Because of increased urbanization, geographical mobility, frequent job shifts, and shorter work hours, the nature of human relationships has dramatically shifted. An increase in the number of provisional relationships and brief personal encounters results from the constant fluidity found in contemporary society. The longlasting interpersonal

involvements once characteristic of American life are now overshadowed by short temporary relationships causing the manner in which individuals relate to one another to be in as much a state of flux as society.⁵ As a result a number of basic American values upheld throughout the development of this country are now being seriously questioned, and the evidence is overwhelming that a number of them will no longer be tenable positions. The traditional rural values that included fundamentalist religious beliefs and an ethic of hard work and self-sacrifice for the family have transformed into more modern urban self-oriented ones. Because of technological advancements and education encouraging the aspiration of higher status, individuals of all classes are breaking many of the old taboos and experiencing more of life's assets once reserved only for the wealthy. The negative traits of self-centeredness and greediness coupled by rebellion toward authority are rapidly emerging, and probably will serve to undermine the traditional character. Many of these traits are found in children today who are growing up faster socially and psychologically, but not physically. Although teachers and parents tend to attribute this social precocity to television or peer pressure, greater impact comes from intense changes in societal structure. As a result, many of the so-called "typical" American lifestyles

are examples of attempts by society to adjust and to adapt to the stress caused by the element of change.

Profile of the Future Student

Rather than reacting to the element of change as we have in the past, we must now begin to anticipate change and assess its probable impact by identifying potential consequences that may be experienced by the student population in the future. From analyzing the impact that change has already had on society, we may extrapolate a profile of the student who will occupy the educational institutions within the near future.

Children born this year will be in the graduating class of the year 2000. Significant changes will occur between now and the end of the century -- changes more dramatic and intense perhaps than those which have occurred in the last twenty-one years since Sputnik shocked us into the space age. Future conditions in all sectors of society coupled by accompanying expectations will demand much of the student. He will have to face a staggering rate of change that will certainly gain momentum throughout the coming decades, and which will have impact on him personally.

The rate of change will be evident within the population characteristics which undoubtedly will affect the

student and the schools. The decreasing numbers of young people will require that adjustments be made in all areas of education. One outstanding characteristic of the future student results from the free moving society and its changing values. These liquid conditions cause him to surge for more job mobility and search for work that will offer possibilities for fashioning his own destiny. He will be more sophisticated from having been exposed to greater diversity in life and will have a different value system. More work options will be available to him, and since serial careers will become acceptable by society, he may return to the classroom more readily for retraining.⁶ Changes in work values will generate an increased desire on the part of women and other minorities to seek more managerial positions. The acceptance of women into all phases of management and business will increase substantially the number of women preparing to enter the work force. All students, however, will seek jobs which will encourage individuality, self-growth, and opportunities for learning.

The student of this fast-changing culture will demand

a change in the educational system's orientation to the learning process. The realization of the Learning Society will have taken root during his early age and will more likely transform the meaning of learning for him; he will interpret learning as a process of preparing one to deal with new situations. Because of the demand to adapt to the constant rate of change, he will not be interested in the facts and findings, but in procedures and processes; he will not want organized data, but will want organizational skills; he will not need storage, but will need processing. Finally, he will not be a passive learner (an archives of data) but instead will be self-generated, creative, and an active learner.

Since the student will be a product of a technologically dominated world, he will possess certain expectations regarding the learning environment. These expectations result largely from his over exposure to technology commonly found in society. Typically, the youth of today have always known television and live in a milieu of message saturation unimagined several years ago. The student of tomorrow is of that generation and will expect a mediated school world throughout all levels because he always has been in one. Availability of technology will produce the expectation of using ultra-electronic devices

that will aid in his learning procedure. This technological sophistication, however, will produce an increasing quest on the part of the student for more meaningful education.

In conclusion, it is evident that educators will face a different type of student within the future. Educators must become aware of the rapidity of change and its drastic effects upon society, and particularly upon the student. They will have to assess what the student wishes to do with his professional life and strive to provide opportunities for achievement, personal growth, and self-fulfillment. Many of our educational leaders have the misconception that solutions to problems lie in the future. The solutions actually are found now -- in the present -- and will carry great impact by being the determining factors for future educational years. The educational decisions made today will have reverberations which will be felt well into the twenty-first century. Today's actions and decisions determine tomorrow's world; consequently, it would be wise for educational leaders to anticipate that the future of education and its new breed of student will depend largely upon the interplay among the political future, the economic future, and the social future. The educational environment will hinge as much upon external conditions as upon internal ones.

FOOTNOTES

¹Joseph F. Coates, "Population and Education: How Demographic Trends Will Shape the U.S.", 1999 The World of Tomorrow, ed. Edward Cornish, (Washington, D.C.: World Future Society, 1978), 93-89.

²Ibid.

³William Abbot, "Working in the Year 2001," 1999 The World of Tomorrow, ed. Edward Cornish, (Washington, D.C.: World Future Society, 1978), 99-104.

⁴Omaha (Nebraska) World-Herald, 9 September 1979.

⁵Richard L. Sartore, "Interpersonal Relations: A Changing Trend," Education Tomorrow 1 (Spring 1977): 2.

⁶See for example William A. Small, "Summer Session Programs of the 1980's," Education Tomorrow 3 (June 1978), 1; Ron Abrell, "Educational Leadership in the 21st Century," Education Tomorrow 3 (October 1978), 1; and Robert Case and Richard Parsons, "An Educational Imperative for the Future," Education Tomorrow 3 (August 1978), 1.

Beyond the Baby Boom.

THE DEPOPULATION OF AMERICA

by Peter Morrison

During the last two decades, major shifts have appeared in patterns of American fertility and migration. By changing the size, structure, and distribution of the U.S. population, these shifts are altering—often drastically—the fortunes of people, places, and the country as a whole.

Most importantly, U.S. population growth has slowed substantially since the middle of the 1960s, with a transition to zero population growth seemingly under way. The American population increased by an average of 2.8 million people a year between 1955 and 1965; since then, this average annual increase has diminished to less than 1.9 million.

A change in American fertility has played the key role in this slowing of population growth. The fertility rate declined sharply during the 1960s and now stands barely above its historic low.

The present reduction in fertility reflects the interaction between changing attitudes toward childbearing and the widespread use of more effective contraception. In the latter area, Americans have greatly modernized contraceptive practice over the last 10 years. The increased use of highly reliable contraceptive methods, along with the availability of legal abortion as a backup method, has afforded couples virtually complete control over their fertility. In 1975, three out of every four married couples using contraception had either been sterilized or

were using the pill or IUD. Ten years earlier, just a little more than one-third were using these reliable methods.

The number of children people expect to have also has significantly declined in recent years. In 1976, almost 75% of married women 18 to 24 years old expected to have no more than two children; in 1967 only 45% of such women fell into this category. At least among young adults, large families have become the exception. Moreover, although there are strong indications that childbearing is not going out of style, intentional childlessness has increased in recent years.

Finally, many married couples have decided to postpone childbearing. Wives have embarked on careers, opting to put off having their first child or additional children until they improve the family's economic status. When parents "re-schedule" childbearing in this way, the birthrate drops; of course, it can go back up just as fast when circumstances change.

While the growth of the U.S. population has slowed considerably, the growth in the number of U.S. households has not. New households are forming at nearly three times the rate that the population is growing. This current and impending surge of household formations is being fueled mostly by the large numbers of young adults who were born during the postwar baby boom and are now passing

*Reprinted from The Futurist

through their peak years for forming households (roughly 20 to 30). This dissimilarity in population and household growth, which can cause the number of households to increase in the midst of a shrinking population, can sometimes confuse supposedly "declining" cities.

Although a number of uncertainties cloud the outlook for national population growth, these uncertainties are well defined and a substan-

tial body of evidence exists on which to base speculations about future fertility trends. For now, the most reasonable forecast, considering current birth-expectations data, is the Census Bureau's series II projection, which assumes an average of 2.1 births per woman over her childbearing years. Under this projection, annual population increases will rise slightly, reaching 2.2 million during most of the 1980s. Thereafter the annual increase will moderate to between 1.5 to 2.0 million during the 1990s, drifting even lower in later years.

Of course, events can upset forecasts. Since fertility is uncertain, future growth rates may be higher or lower than those in the "best guess" series II projection. Accordingly, the Census Bureau has also compiled a series I projection, which assumes 2.7 births per woman, and a series III projection, which assumes 1.7 births per woman. These projections bracket what most demographers would regard as a reasonable range of future possibilities.

In my judgment, fertility (and thus population growth attributable to natural increase) is very unlikely to rise above the 2.7 births per woman used in the series I projection. Fertility could, however, plausibly fall below the very low level assumed in series III. In any event, annual birthrates will almost certainly become more volatile, as couples exercise more effective control

over whether and when to have children.

The significance of changing fertility patterns extends far beyond the simple arithmetic of a slowing rate of population growth. For one thing, the public has increasingly focused its attention on who bears children as fertility has declined. With teenagers accounting for 18% of all U.S. births in 1976, adolescent childbearing has become a major concern. Many of these pregnancies are unwanted and avoidable, and "kids with kids" saddle society with considerable long-term costs.

Changes in fertility have also transformed the age structure of the population, affecting age-related services and institutions. Among other things, lower fertility means lower school enrollments and, eventually, larger Social Security payments. Overall, shifts in fertility, as basic determinants of the population's age structure, may have intense and long-lasting social, fiscal, and political effects.

The Changing Age Profile

A growing population can lead to greatly expanded demands for public services, requiring higher tax revenues to support those services. But the demand for specific services often grows, or shrinks, in proportion to the population in specific age ranges: police forces and prisons had to expand in the 1960s to cope with the wave of young people passing through the ages of peak criminal activity; public health care facilities expand to accommodate the elderly and the poor; elementary school enrollments have begun to fall off as the population under 10 has shrunk. On the supply side, public revenues similarly depend partly on the proportion of working-age people in the population.

The rate at which a population is changing may vary widely from one age group to another. Between 1970 and 1977, for instance, America's

6% growth in population concealed considerable unevenness of change. During this period:

- The population aged 5 to 13 (students) declined 12%.
- The population aged 25 to 34 (prospective homeowners) increased 32%.
- The population aged 65 and older (heavy consumers of health care) increased 18%.

These different rates of growth for different age groups reflect past fluctuations in fertility, most notably the national decline in fertility during the Great Depression, the baby boom following World War II, and the sudden drop in fertility during the late 1960s. Each major rise and fall has left its imprint on the population's age profile.

Peristalsis, the faculty which enables a python to swallow a pig, is an apt metaphor for how the United States has absorbed the impact of these swings in fertility. The many children born after World War II overcrowded first the maternity wards, then the schools, then the institutions of juvenile justice, and then the housing market.

Such concentrations of population in certain age groups presage a number of unavoidable changes in American society. These changes will affect not only school enrollments and the demand for particular kinds of housing, but also various redistribution programs such as Social Security.

Two-Worker Families

Intertwined with the trend toward smaller families has been a sharp increase in the percentage of wives who earn income and in the closely related percentage of two-paycheck families.

In 1977, 46% of wives were in the labor force, compared with only 24% in 1950. This increase has been especially noteworthy among mothers, 49% of whom were in the labor force in 1976, compared with 30% in 1960. Among today's working-age men, by comparison, 78% are in the labor force—about 10 percentage points lower than in 1950.

The money that working wives contribute is most important when it raises family income above minimal levels. In 1974, only 4% of all husband-wife families had incomes

below \$5,000 when the wife was working (compared with 13% when she was not). Among all wives who worked in 1974, the median contribution was more than one-fourth of the total family income.

Besides increasing their participation in the labor force, wives are also ordering their careers as mothers and income earners quite differently. They are starting work earlier

in life and continuing to work after children arrive. Furthermore, wives are developing more permanent attachments to the labor force. Compared with their counterparts of a decade or more ago, many more of today's young wives will be working in their older years, and more will be holding full-time jobs.

Among college women, there is a growing disinclination to confine activities to home and family. National surveys show that far fewer first-year women endorse traditional roles now than they did in the recent past (only 20% in 1977 compared with 44% in 1967). First-year college men questioned on this issue show a similar decline (from 67% to 36%).

The increasing representation of women in higher paying professional occupations may reflect these preferences. For example, women now account for one of every eight physicians, compared with one of every eighteen in 1962. The participation of women in professional programs has also risen sharply. In law schools, for instance, the proportion of women enrolled rose from 7% to 23% between 1969-70 and 1973-76.

In sum, families with at least two workers are the mode today, and this trend will probably advance in the years ahead. Smaller families and the changing economic role of wives will reinforce the new work-life patterns of women. The future worklives of men and women will come to resemble each other more and more, both in the distribution of occupations and in the time spent working. The result will be increasing numbers of multiworker families, each with higher family income, in the years ahead.

The Geographic Distribution of Population

Exposed by the falloff in the birth-rate, changes in America's migration patterns are altering the country's population landscape. Like wind drifting snow, these changes have created new shapes, obliterated old ones, and in some places exposed what lies beneath.

Since 1970, 42 of the nation's 299 metropolitan areas have failed to register any significant population growth. This lack of growth has arisen partly from low birthrates, but mostly from the excess of departing migrants over arriving ones. As the cities' magnetism has waned, population growth has stopped or even reversed. Although this situation is not the inevitable prelude to economic stagnation that many believe it to be, it does severely strain traditional mechanisms of municipal finance.

Within metropolitan areas, the outflow of population from declining cities continues, and with a predictable order of march: The affluent whites go first, followed by the poor, the elderly, and if they go at all, the minorities. During the process, the people left in the cities tend to grow more disadvantaged and to acquire more special needs. Problems of dependency and poverty, which are not exclusively problems of these shrinking cities, accumulate within them and clamor for solutions.

The most obvious and troublesome aspect of this process is metropolitan racial separation. Some blacks are moving into the suburbs, to be sure, but most blacks remain concentrated in large central cities; and as the cities' populations shrink, the relative concentration of blacks intensifies.

Nationally, blacks make up about 24% of central-city dwellers, and the percentage has continued to rise in this decade. Part of the rise, as just noted, reflects the outflow of whites from central cities. But demographic differences between the black and white populations are also pushing this percentage higher,

perpetuating the existing racial separation and producing a kind of "no-fault" segregation. This is occurring partly because the black population has comparatively more future parents and, therefore, greater potential for growth in the places where blacks now live. In large central cities, fully 29% of blacks are between 5 and 17 years of age, compared with only 20% of the cities' white residents.

The contrasting age distributions of these two populations mean that blacks, already disproportionately concentrated in the central cities, will become even more so without other changes. That is, even if everyone stopped migrating, the black population would continue to grow faster than the white population, intensifying racial separation where it already exists. Inevitably, governments must reckon with the powerful demographic forces that perpetuate metropolitan racial separation.

Could the central cities undergo a revival through the return of the middle class, which might begin to solve the cities' problems in a "natural" fashion? The possibility that the typical big city might begin to attract well-heeled newcomers cannot be ruled out. Such "gentrification," as it is labelled, is obviously under way in certain places, most notably within the District of Columbia. It also appears to be happening in Baltimore, Boston's South End, Brooklyn's Park Slope section, Queens Village in Philadelphia, and Detroit's Renaissance Center.

However, although some neighborhoods in some cities have revived, it would be hasty to regard these isolated success stories as the forerunners of a widespread "back-to-the-cities" movement. The sparse evidence available fails to support the persistent rumors of such regeneration. Substantial urban resettlement

occurs, it seems, only where the urban economy offers high-paying white-collar jobs to large and growing numbers of young workers. The majority of central cities, in my judgment, will continue to conform more closely to the "downward spiral" than to the "regeneration" model, because they do not possess the kind of economic base that would induce regeneration.

The counterpoise to the trend of metropolitan decline is the "rural renaissance"—the revival or growth of small cities and towns, especially those remote from metropolitan areas. These small, once stable communities are ill equipped to handle sudden population growth. Like new celebrities, they lack the full array of legal and institutional structures needed to cope with unaccustomed attention.

Growth in nonmetropolitan areas is more balanced now than before. Many previously lagging areas have recovered; other previously growing areas have stabilized. Nearly two-thirds of all nonmetropolitan counties have gained migrants in the 1970s, compared with only one-quarter in the 1960s and one-tenth in the 1950s.

Net migration into nonmetropolitan areas does not stop at the borders of those areas with strong commuting ties to the cities. In fact, the revival is especially noticeable for counties with the least commuting and those that are entirely rural. Developments in nonmetropolitan areas thus cannot be explained away as just more metropolitan sprawl or "spillover," for they are affecting distinctly remote and totally rural districts as well as places adjacent to urban centers.

Regional Shifts

The shifts in migration during the 1970s signal, and at the same time

reinforce, new patterns in the regional distribution of economic vitality. These shifts have generated a variety of new regional conflicts of interest and have led to new political coalitions whose power is starting to be felt.

The fortunes of different regions present a complex and often unprecedented picture of growth and decline. Changes in migration, together with the declining rate of natural population increase, have determined where the symptoms of national decline first appear.

The contrasting fortunes of the Northeast and the South offer the most striking example. These two regions demonstrate how recent shifts in net migration, together with the overall drop in the birth rate, have produced sharply diverging rates of population growth.

The rate of overall population growth has declined sharply in the Northeast but not in the South. The losses of the Northeast are due to both a downturn in net migration and the falloff in the birth rate. Prior to 1972, the Northeast had a small migration gain. After 1972, net migration reversed and sizable numbers of people began to leave. The Northeast now registers an overall loss of population, because out-migration more than offsets natural increase.

In the South, the population growth rate during the 1970s has

changed little from the growth rate of the 1940s. However, the source of this growth has changed: The component of growth from migration has become substantially greater. In other words, a rising influx of newcomers has sustained the South's population growth as natural increase has waned. Although babies have become scarcer, the South has managed to attract migrants: the Northeast is running out of both.

All in all, the South is growing scarcely faster than it did in the 1960s, and its lead over the Northeast is nothing new: The South's growth rate has surpassed that of the Northeast for at least 15 years. But the new patterns of migration have altered the political complexion of the South—migrants, unlike babies, tend to be of voting age: The crux of interest, then, lies not so much in the overall population slowdown as in the political, economic, and cultural changes that regions undergo as people move among them.

Planning Public Policy

The implications of demographic shifts are exceedingly broad, but two of the most important effects of such changes on the U.S. are: (1) demographic shifts alter the numbers of recipients and donors involved in several important redistribution programs, and (2) demographic change undermines longstanding economic and political bal-

ances, affecting the distribution of income, wealth, and employment.

In the first category, the tribulations of Social Security (and of other government retirement programs) illustrate how demographic change can destabilize public programs—in this case, threatening to crack America's cornerstone or intergenerational transfer. Some states and localities, afflicted by the population's changing age composition, have had to use general tax revenues to finance their retirement programs. In doing so, they create, in effect, new intergenerational transfer programs.

Recognition of the problem took surprisingly long, considering the circumstances. The problem originated quietly but powerfully during the late 1940s and 1950s as sharply rising birthrates expanded the ranks of future recipients while gradually declining death rates extended the lives of current recipients. The growing numbers of potential donors encouraged planners to assume that fertility would remain moderately high. After all, only a baby-boom-size workforce at the end of the century could support a retiring post-World War II baby-boom generation.

Of course, the assumption of continued high fertility went out the window with the onset of the "baby

bust" in the late 1960s. Still, not until the early 1970s did the public, already hypersensitive to inflation, recognize the alarming problems in store for Social Security.

The elderly dependency ratio, which relates the size of the elderly population (65 years and over) to the working-age population (ages 18 to 64), outlines the history and future of the Social Security program. Over recent decades, the ratio has risen steadily; it should level off in the short-term future. But without either another baby boom or a surge of immigration, the dependency ratio could climb to 32 elderly people per 100 working adults by 2030.

The future script of Social Security was largely written when Americans began to shun large families, settling on the two-child family as a norm (with some families having only one child, or none at all). It is a disturbing future to contemplate. Barring a major war, the number of future Social Security recipients will surely rise. And with low birthrates, the number of prospective donors has already shrunk, and may shrink even further depending on how few children today's teenagers decide to have.

To some extent, more participation by women in the labor force will offset the financial impact of the rising dependency ratio. Nonethe-

less, the message conveyed in these figures is clear: Demographic changes will undermine the long-standing political balance that has supported intergenerational transfer. This gradually deteriorating situation is a formidable and far-reaching problem, distinct from other, more immediate threats to the Social Security system's financial stability. (A combination of inflation and problems with the formula that couples benefits and contributions precipitated the short-term crisis of the mid-1970s.)

At the same time as the age structure has changed, shifts in migration have begun to reshuffle power bases across America. New regional alliances, such as the Coalition of Northeast Governors, the Southern Growth Policies Board, and others, have consolidated these changes, and congressional reapportionment in 1982 will make them more apparent. The shifts are also posing various kinds of problems:

- **Head-count concerns.** When the federal government distributes its largesse among localities and re-

gions—in forms like revenue sharing, community assistance, vocational education, and so on—its distribution formulas typically give weight to the number of inhabitants an area claims. Regions unable to boost more people (or worse, unable to claim as many as the year before) will lose funds, even though they may require more federal assistance to deal with the effects of declining population.

- **Concerns about the quality of the labor force.** By recomposing a region's population, migration may alter its labor pool, augmenting or diminishing its stock of human capital. Skilled workers may leave an area, making way for less skilled migrants; young adults educated at one region's expense may move themselves, and that investment, to another region's.

- **Concerns about dependency.** Some segments of the population (such as people on public assistance) are recognizably a public burden, and others (uneducated rural-to-urban migrants, for example) are often considered as such. Their accumula-

tion, whether through in-migration on their part or out-migration by others, will disturb some residents of almost any locality.

- **Concern over undocumented aliens.** This issue figures prominently in California, Texas, New York, and a few other states where aliens gather. Illegal aliens used to stay close to the border, often in rural areas, but substantial numbers are now scattered throughout the nation. Experts disagree about what effects they have: Some observers insist that alien Mexican workers, for example, take jobs away from unemployed Americans or legal migrants, or they claim that illegal aliens overburden social services, taking more from social welfare services than they contribute in taxes. Evidence is scarce, but these allegations have nevertheless gained wide currency.

- **Local shrinking pains.** Newly declining areas are discovering that decline does not come gracefully. Shrinking pains are commonplace, and not in the central cities alone. Nationwide, about one-sixth of all

metropolitan areas are losing population, and one-third of metropolitan residents live in these areas of decreasing population. For central cities, especially the large ones and those in the Northeast, the problems are far worse.

These nongrowing areas will continue to face problems of residential and productive obsolescence, typified by vacant and abandoned housing, underused schools, outmoded public facilities, and aging stores, offices, and factories. Selective out-migration will magnify the burden of dependency that the less mobile elderly and low-income citizens impose on a locality. These forces will clearly worsen the fiscal straits of declining jurisdictions.

• *Newly experienced growth.* While some areas resent the problems that migrants generate when they leave, other areas equally resent the problems that arriving migrants cause: congestion, sprawl, and costs for public support. Local officials often feel frustrated at their inability to dampen the external forces that attract migrants. They have therefore tried to deal instead with the effects, passing laws to limit local populations (as in Boulder, Colorado; Petaluma, California; and elsewhere), proposing federal legislation to control migration (as the governor of Hawaii did last year), or even attempting to withdraw unilaterally from federal welfare programs (as in Plumas County, California).

Demographers understand the processes that lead to problems like these well enough to foresee the future implications of present behavior. Yet policymakers seem to only partly understand demographic analysis, and they are not benefiting from the information it offers. There is room for improvement.

Demographic change proceeds slowly, but on a massive scale. The problems it engenders are complex, and public awareness of its influence lags. Demographic reporting of ongoing trends, including monitoring important data and analyzing what has changed and what the changes mean, can help prod public recognition and political action. The debate can then become a little profounder and the decisions a little wiser. ■



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DEMOGRAPHIC PROJECTIONS AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY ISSUES

Prepared for the House Subcommittee on
Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education
of the House Education and Labor Committee

Dennis L. Little
Specialist in Futures Research
Science Policy Research Division

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I. DEMOGRAPHIC PROJECTIONS AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY ISSUES

A. INTRODUCTION

For approximately the past five to twenty-five years, our nation has experienced significant changes in various demographic patterns which have or will raise significant educational policy issues for the 1980s. 1/ These include a declining birth rate and an aging population; regional shifts from the "Snow Belt" to the "Sun Belt" as well as a return to rural America; a dramatic increase in female labor force participation rates; a general change in family structure - "kids with kids," single-parent families, unmarried couples, etc.; and changes in the racial and ethnic composition of the United States.

As a result of these changes a number of educational policy issues appear to be emerging. In this paper four of these issues and some of their implications are described in two to three pages each. This analysis is not meant to be exhaustive or to provide immediate answers for the committee. If the committee so desires, one or more of these issues may be explored later in greater depth. 2/ The issues to be discussed are: (1) making national policy for differential regional impacts; (2) managing and developing school physical plants with uncertain information; (3) fewer clients but greater needs; and (4) fitting social science curriculum to social trends.

B. NATIONAL POLICY AND REGIONAL IMPACTS

"We are now entering the age of slowdown."

Kenneth Boulding

The decline in the fertility rate of American women from its 1957 level of 3.7 to its current level of approximately 1.8 has lead to a significant decrease in elementary and secondary school enrollment. Elementary school enrollment peaked in this country at about 32 million students in 1967 3/ and is expected to continue to decline to 1985 and by 1995 the enrollment is expected to return to the level of 1964-1965. 4/

In the high schools the largest senior class ever in American high schools was graduated in 1975. In 1978 the secondary schools enrolled fewer than 20 million and their enrollment is expected to decline until about 1990. The 1990's increase in high school children is a forecasted 26 percent and, if so, that will bring that age group by the year 2000 within five percent of the 1975 enrollment figure. 5/

It does not appear to significantly matter whose numbers or fertility rate one uses. The overall direction is downward. Yet despite these macro-national trends, from 1970-75 some 40 States experienced an increase in school age population, and in many rural areas as well as the Rocky Mountain States, this trend is expected to continue until at least the mid 1980s. Ten States experienced a five to twenty percent increase and nine of the ten losers were in the "Snow Belt" States.

They included:

Enrollment Declines

Connecticut
Illinois
Indiana
Kansas
Missouri
New York
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
Louisiana

5-20% Increases

Arkansas
Colorado
Florida
Idaho
Montana
Nevada
New Hampshire
New Mexico
Oregon
Wyoming

In general the 1970-75 shifts in enrollment correlated to the projected change in employment by State - 1980-85. Nine of the ten States experiencing enrollment declines are expected to experience an increase in employment of from two to ten percent. Eight of the ten States which experienced a five to twenty percent increase in enrollment are expected to increase employment by ten to 26.8 percent. 6/

A different set of statistics reveals a similar story. Between 1970 and 1980 Michigan will lose 20 percent of its elementary school enrollment. Between 1980 and 1990 Michigan will lose an additional 20 percent of its elementary secondary enrollment. By 1992 the number of high school graduates in Michigan is forecasted to be one third less than the number of graduates in 1978. By contrast one region in Colorado with a 70,000 population in 1968 has grown to over 300,000. 7/

Non-metropolitan counties have also shown increased enrollments. They registered a net gain of 2.3 million persons in net migration between 1970-76. (By contrast nonmetropolitan counties recorded a net loss of 2.3 million persons due to migration from 1960 to 1970.) 8/

Congress generally is asked to make Federal educational policy from macro-demographic data. Yet many people do not live in a "typical" school district. While overall elementary and secondary school enrollments are down, some States are experiencing large gains and some rural or energy related growth areas may experience even sharper increases. Education, because it is a State and local enterprise, is affected not only by national fertility trends but by the fact that Americans do not stay put. Schools are affected by national and local migration trends. 9/

There appears to be a need for Congress to more closely monitor the projected birth rates as well as regional and metropolitan migratory patterns. 10/ Where possible a periodic examination might be made of social and economic composition of prospective enrollments. Such an assessment might require a more detailed examination of children who potentially require special services -- non-English speaking children, minority children, single parent families, etc.

C. SCHOOL PHYSICAL PLANTS

It is clear that with enrollment declining in areas (primarily Snow Belt States) and enrollment increasing in others (primarily Sun Belt States or rural areas) some schools must be closed and new ones built in others. The problem or issue is that these decisions must be made with partial, fragmentary, and incomplete information. Subject to sudden shifts in our nation's immigration policies, the enrollment rates for grades K through 12 are known for the next five years. After that period of time they are subject to changes in fertility rates; (whose long term direction is unclear); regional population shifts (the durability of which is uncertain); and the size and age composition of our central cities and suburbs. These trends are discussed below and are followed by a discussion of the options for local administrators.

Fertility Rates

In terms of the fertility rate there are two conflicting theories. The first - espoused by Charles Westoff of Princeton University - takes a very long term perspective. According to this theory the processes of industrialization and urbanization have produced a steady decline in average family size. This decline was briefly accelerated during the Great Depression, and briefly reversed in the 1940s and the 1950s. The tendency downward in the birthrate is believed to be reinforced by a steady

decline since 1960 in the proportion of women marrying at ages 20-24 and by the changing status of women in our society (the working wife). 11/ The data indicate that the proportion of young women 20-24 years old, never married, has increased from 28 percent in 1960 to 48 percent in 1978. 12/ The proportion of women in the labor force has grown from 38 percent in 1960 to 48 percent in 1977, and by 1990, 55 percent of American women aged 16 and over will be in the force. (According to a recent Urban Institute study women will be entering the work force at a rate of about one million a year until 1990). 13/

An alternative theory is put forth by Richard Easterlin an economist at the University of Pennsylvania. 14/ Easterlin's view is based on the theory that the birth rate is a function of the birth cohort size of the childbearing population. According to this theory, when members of small birth cohorts enter the labor market (mid 1980s), they will face little competition from their peers for initial entry positions; will establish careers fairly quickly; can afford to marry early; and will begin to have children. The trend is dominated by inter-generational "fashion." That is (somewhat over simplified), children who grew up in small Depression families preferred to have larger families themselves and children who grew up in larger families have been having fewer children and having them later in life.

Which of these theories is right and which is wrong cannot be determined for another generation or two. A historical data base is required and by then the entire contextual situation may have changed.

Regional Shifts

Regional shifts are likely to continue as individuals and industry seek to settle in favorable climatic areas and/or in energy boom towns. One of the fundamental questions is will any of energy-related boom towns of the 1980s become energy bust towns ten to twenty years later if the nation shifts from coal related energy to a greater emphasis on some combination of nonfossil fuel?

Urban/Suburban Trends

Whether or not we are experiencing an "urban crisis" or we are in the midst of an "urban renewal" is just one of several related urban/suburban questions. Another equally pertinent question is what will be the impact of the graying of suburbia on our public school system. While some cities may be experiencing a true urban renewal, nationwide the number of persons living in central cities fell by 2.1 million between 1970 and 1976, and the annual net rate of movement away from central cities rose from 2.5 percent during the period from

1970 to 1975 to 3.3 percent during the period from 1975 to 1976. 15/ In the future significant shifts in housing costs, mortgage interest rates, or transportation costs could significantly affect this movement in either direction.

The typical American suburb is no longer (if it ever was) a community of young, white families who are affluent or middle class. In 1976 more than 4.5 million households headed by persons 65 or over lived in the suburbs. Between 1970 and 1976 the number of elderly households rose by 31 percent compared with a ten percent rise in the central cities. This trend probably will continue because of the large number of pre-elderly (ages 55-64) already in place in the suburbs. 16/ At a meeting of the International City Management Association's Committee on the Future Horizons of Local Government, the city managers present noted that, for the most part, ten years ago the dominant interest group in their community was the Parent Teacher's Association. Today, it is the American Association of Retired Persons. 17/ These shifts will undoubtedly put pressure on the older suburban school district to run smaller; more consolidated; and more efficient school systems.

Options for Local Administrators

Legally the responsibility for a surplus school may vary from district to district. The options open to local administrators are multiple, complex, and at times conflicting. Stable or declining enrollment can provide an opportunity to eliminate inefficient, badly located or otherwise undesirable school buildings. A more complex situation, legally and financially, is the school that is partially underused, and from which conventional education probably should not be completely removed. Is it legal, plausible, and operationable to lease out a wing or a floor to other public or nonprofit agencies? How does one determine which users are compatible with a typical K-12 program? Another possibility is to lease the entire building to another public agency until future needs can be ascertained. This is a form of "mothballing". 18/

For those suburban schools in a reasonably good location but obviously experiencing declining enrollments another more speculative possibility exists. The school system may be able to sell the schools and land to a real estate developer who could take possession at an agreed upon future date. The school system would get an immediate infusion of cash and the developer would get a hedge against speculative price increases. 19/ Undoubtedly, there are numerous other possibilities or combinations of the above.

Where new schools are required the situation is less clear. In hearings held in April, 1979, by the House Subcommittee on Elementary and Secondary Education, one witness testified that by the mid 1980s, the large computers in use in 1979 would cost hundreds of dollars and terminals would cost tens of dollars. He felt that this technological breakthrough coupled with rising energy costs could lead to the obsolescence of the concept of a fixed, geographically located school building. 20/ An alternative approach occurs in Oklahoma where to lower construction and energy costs, some thirty schools have been built partially below ground. 21/

Decisions to sell, lease, or build are generally a local decision. However, very little attention is being given to monitoring and analyzing these decisions. An inventory of these developments might be developed by the National Institute of Education or the appropriate arm of the new Department of Education. Case studies might be developed of successes as well as failures. The Department of Education might consider providing funds for technology transfer studies; planning for return to rising enrollment at lower grades; conducting "typical" school case studies; analyzing differences between school board and user interests; permitting schools to lease to profit-making organizations; and studying the potential conflict between high schools and junior colleges. 22/

D. FEWER CLIENTS BUT GREATER NEEDS

As noted earlier, school enrollments are down from their earlier highs and are expected to remain down until at least the mid 1980s. For this reason and other economic factors, the public is developing a cost-cutting mentality. 23/ The number of children under 18 years of age fell to 64.1 million in 1977 - approximately the 1960 level, but large numbers of children of the late 1970s may have greater needs and therefore require greater per capita dollar inputs than the 1960 child. During the period of time between 1960 and 1977, the percentage of children living with a separated parent doubled from nine to 18 percent (7.1. million to 11.3 million), and the percentage living with a divorced parent tripled; the number living with a never-married parent was seven times as high (this number increased by 12 percent from 1977-1978); there was a ten percent decline in the number of children living with two parents (from 56.3 million to 50.8 million); 24/ and a sharp rise in teenage pregnancies occurred. These trends and their implications for educational policy are discussed in greater depth in the sections which follow.

Marriage and Divorce

Marriage rates have fluctuated little since 1975 and in 1978 there were about 10.2 marriages per 1,000 population. The U.S. divorce rate has consistently exceeded that of any other large country and between 1965 and 1976, the country's divorce rate doubled from 2.5 to 5.0 per 1,000 population. At current rates

40 percent of all marriages will end in divorce. 25/ Twenty-six States and the District of Columbia have discarded the tender-years doctrine where custody is awarded to the women when children are young. 26/

The number of unmarried couple households climbed in 1978 to 1.1 million - double the 1970 figure and triple the 1960 figure. According to forecasts made by the Futures Group, the figure will rise to three million by 1990. 27/ These trends raise issues in the area of child custody, support, property rights, etc. Custody questions in many cases have not been resolved by the traditional domestic court settlements for along with these trends, there has been a sharp rise in child-snatching where children are being spirited from homes by aggrieved fathers or mothers. 28/

Teenage Pregnancy

The U.S. teenage birthrate is the highest of any industrial nation in the world, and, if present rates prevail, approximately one in five of today's 14-year old girls will become pregnant while of school age. In 1979 over 1,000,000 teenagers will get pregnant and approximately 600,000 of these children will give birth to other children. The 600,000 annual births, according to a Stanford Research Institute study may cost the Federal, State, and local governments as much as \$8.3 billion a year in welfare and medical costs. 29/

For this particular group - teenage mothers, there are higher risks of death and medical complications; suicide and child abuse rates are higher than among older groups; 85 percent of profit and 75 percent of not for profit daycare centers in the United States refuse babies under two years of age; and approximately eight out of ten young mothers drop out of high school. 30/

The Family and Educational Policy

The trends described above deal with the family. To some they might depict alternative life styles and to others they might document the perceived weakening of the nuclear family. In either case the traditional role of the family and the parents may be shifting. In the past and today we assign a high value to the family network because families are considered to be the primary source of nurturance support and meaning to most people and because they form the structure of society. Parents are assigned power and responsibility over their minor children. If we think of education as more than just a delivery system, but also a system of relationships - relationships between teachers and students, between schools and families, and between schools and communities it is obvious that the relationships are changing. 31/ The significant rise in the number of working mothers; the divorce rate and the number of one-parent families; unmarried couples; and "kids with kids" are causing the traditional role definitions to change. By default it appears that some schools and teachers

are assuming new roles and these roles may require, on a per capita basis, more dollar inputs to obtain equal functional output.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity

Finally increasing racial and ethnic diversity will raise numerous budget and other educational policy issues. Blacks, Asians, and other racial minorities constituted 12.4 percent of the total population in 1970; 13.1 percent in 1975; and a projected 13.8 percent of the total population in 1980. As a percentage of total population non-whites will comprise one out of seven in 1985 compared to one out of eight in 1970. However, the real shift will be seen in the school systems, where because of higher fertility rates non-whites will make up nearly one in five of all children of grammar school age in 1985, and nearly that high of population of 15 to 19 years of age. These shifts may cause difficulties in developing a school busing program. 32/

Immigration policy may raise additional questions. Currently the U.S. has approximately 400,000 legal immigrants and from two to ten million illegal aliens. An exploding population in Mexico could cause a significant increase in these numbers. In addition Congress has passed legislation allowing an additional 14,000 refugees a month from Southeast Asia. Language barriers may be just one factor. In 1976 about 28 million Americans, about one in eight, usually did not speak English at home or spoke a foreign

language as a second language. The 1970 Census recorded over twice as many Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in America than in 1950. In 1978 there were an estimated 12 million Spanish Americans up significantly from the first Census enumeration in 1970 where the estimate was 9.3 million. 33/

These trends create two groups of issues and any of these issues may well require additional expenditures. First, who is to pay for the elementary and secondary education of sons and daughters of illegal immigrants. Texas has passed a State law forbidding the expenditure of State funds for children of aliens who do not have documents entitling them to be in this country. Dallas school officials say the cost of enrolling all the children could range from \$6.7 to 11.7 million dollars. The State notes that there is precedent for this action, for food stamps and Medicaid currently are denied for undocumented aliens. The Texas State Attorney General's Office has said, "Since the Federal Government isn't enforcing the immigration laws and they're not going to give us the money to pay for it, we've decided we're only going to educate our own students." 34/

The second main issue centers on the Asiatic refugees. Some States are experiencing extremely large influxes of Asiatic refugees. California expects refugee numbers in the State to reach 200,000 by 1982. Many of these refugees are poor and illiterate with no skills to assimilate them into the workforce. However,

their most immediate problem seems to be health. In a San Francisco study, 70 percent carried intestinal parasites, some communicable through poor hygiene; 40 percent showed positive reaction to tuberculosis tests; and ten percent suffered from infectious skin ailments. 35/ Is a special health screening program required for the children of these refugees? How often must it be repeated if at all? Will additional screenings be required for all their classmates? If so, how will these screenings be financed?

E. SOCIAL SCIENCE CURRICULUM AND SOCIAL TRENDS

The final issue in relating demographic trends to emerging educational policy issues is how to adjust social science curriculum to long term and significant social trends. Should the curriculum be adjusted to reflect the growing racial and ethnic diversity of the United States as described in the above issue? Or should there be a return to the melting pot concept of earlier days? Because of the limitations of space, only one other demographic trend - the aging U.S. population will be illustrated.

Since 1900, the percentage of individuals in the United States over 65 has increased steadily. In 1900 people over 65 comprised four percent of the total population. By 1950 this percentage had doubled to eight percent and in 1979 it reached over ten percent. Future growth with a number of elderly, as a percentage of total population, will of course be influenced by actual birth rates. By 2030 using Series II or Series III population projection's this percentage is expected to reach from 17 to 22 percent. 36/

These trends appear to run counter to the impressions of the average television viewer. According to a recently released study of the Annenberg School of Communications of the University of Pennsylvania, most television viewers believe that the number of old people is declining instead of increasing; and that old people are inferior in many ways. The effects of observed were strongest in the under 20 age groups of television viewers. 37/ These observations raise several curriculum questions concerning existing elementary and secondary school social science curriculum. Does the existing curriculum depict the "greying" of America and the many positive attributes of our senior citizens. If not, why not? In a more general vein, is it possible for the education community to monitor social trends and discontinuities so that they are reflected in the curriculum on a more timely basis? Certain basic questions need to be examined before this can become operational. These could be explored by the National Institute of Education, appropriate State consortium's - such as the Southeastern Regional Educational consortium, or an appropriate congressional support agency. The questions include:

- How many people need to be effected before the trend is significant?
- What is the nature of the effect?
- Are there ways of reversing the trend or coping with it?
- How much lead time is required to influence the trend?

- What are the costs?

Many corporations have recently created new staffs to identify new trends and emerging issues, and interpret the implications of these for their organizations. It would seem plausible that such a staff could be created in the public sector to serve the needs of the education community.

F. SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

A paper of this nature is by intent limited and fragmentary. It is merely an overview of some demographic trends and educational policy issues which flow from them. Each of the issues discussed could be the subject of large interdisciplinary research projects and undoubtedly research in some of these areas already has begun. From these issues and the collection of the other papers in this document, the committee can ascertain those long term issues which it might desire to explore in greater depth.

FOOTNOTES

1/ Demography is a branch of the social sciences dealing with the determinants and consequences of population change. It deals with vital and social statistics such as birth, death and marriage, and the size, density, distribution, and mobility of populations.

2/ Several options for further exploration are discussed in U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. Implementing the House Foresight Provision, by Dennis L. Little. [Washington] 1979. 26 p.

3/ Fiske, Edward B. Enrollment Drop Fallout. New York Times. December 13, 1978: 4 B.

4/ Fishlow, Harriet. Projection of School Age Children. Unpublished Draft. March 27, 1979, p. 2. Delivered at the symposium on Population: Implications for Education jointly sponsored by the Population Resource Center and the Institute for Educational Leadership of George Washington University.

5/ Reinhardt, Hazel H. The Ups and Downs of Education. American Demographics, Vol. 1, No. 6, June, 1979, p. 9 and Fishlow, p. 2.

6/ Reinhardt, Hazel H., p. 10 and Careers in the 80's. New York Times, Section 12, Oct. 14, 1979, p. 8.

7/ Educational Staff Seminar, News Letter, George Washington University, 1978, p. 6.

8/ American Council of Life Insurance. Social Research Services. Data Track 5 [Washington] 1979, p. 37. In addition immigration patterns may lead to regional increases in enrollment. This is discussed in more detail later in this paper.

9/ This concept is developed further in Newitt Jane. Future Effects of Decline in New York's School Age Population: An Overview with Recommendations for Further Study. Croton-on-Hudson, August, 1979.

10/ For further detail see Fishlow, pp. 6-9.

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EDUCATION IN THE SUBURBS
-So Goes The Nation-

Donald G. Mays, Ph.D.
Administrator, Pupil Services
Fullerton (California) Union High School District

Americans continue to seek ways to improve their standard of living and the importance of education is recognized as one way to achieve it. From rural and urban America, millions of people move to the suburbs as another positive step toward achieving success. The image of suburbia personifies the ultimate in the upward mobility concept people are seeking -- the quest for "the American Dream." The "good" schools are to be found in the suburbs. During the past decade, however, there has been a growing disillusionment with education's unfulfilled promises. Public education is in a state of crisis. The factors that brought about the post-World War II boom in suburban growth, also have brought about the very problems education is now experiencing. Rapid, traumatic changes in society have left suburbanites with a strong feeling of frustration. Expected stability did not occur. A new cynical attitude is permeating middle-class America. To bring some sense of order to our future and to revitalize the American spirit, there is a need to restore America's faith in its educational system as a first step. A new attitude, a renewed faith, is needed -- and it is possible to attain.

The Changing Nature of the Suburbs

For the past several decades, families moving to the suburbs did so as a positive effort to improve the quality of life most

Americans sought. Suburbanites have had considerable faith in the educational system and gave unquestioning support to their schools. Education, in their minds, was one of the major keys to the "good life" and it provided the upward mobility they thought they needed to achieve success. Within the past few years disillusionment appears to have set in. Maybe the expectations of the suburban community were set too high. Maybe the growth problems of the suburban school systems prevented educators from ensuring that the outcomes of the educational program would meet the expectations. Whatever the cause, it appears that the suburbanites' love affair, and their support of the educational system, has cooled. There has been a growing concern over the increased costs of education with little or no concurrent increase in the educational attainment of the youth.

In the aftermath of World War II and the Korean police action, the economic growth of the United States encouraged millions of Americans to seek a better life. Increasing population mandated that families move into new housing created by the gigantic housing developments which were fanning out from the urban areas into what was to be called the suburbs. The suburbs of the 1950's and the 1960's are now beginning to resemble the urban areas of an earlier era. The new housing has aged. Young families, once concerned with the type and quality of education offered to their offspring, have aged. The youth have grown up and moved on. Parents, facing the exorbitant cost of new housing today, cannot afford to move. They are unable to buy the type of house that is

designed to meet their changing needs, and so they remain "rooted" and watch the value of their homes grow and along with it the tremendous increase in taxes. Personal income has not kept pace with inflation. Education, once the key factor for choosing to live in the suburbs, no longer is valued to the degree it once was. Suburbanites tend to resent increasing taxes for a commodity that appears to them to be a "poor buy." The emphasis on consumerism has reached parents who want to be sure that their taxes are bringing an appropriate return on their investment. The middle-class American society, the bastion of suburbia, has witnessed an apparent decline in the quality of education and the product it produces. In effect, the group identified here believes that the education they experienced when they were in school, is not comparable today. There are too many "frills" and not enough basics. The validity of these perceptions can be argued but the point remains: middle-class Americans perceive a deterioration in student achievement due to inadequate education. One example of this growing concern is the current debate over the decline in the SAT scores. Educational costs continue to increase while the scores continue to decline. Another example can be seen in the results of many polls that state that discipline is lacking in the schools and needs to be restored.

The values held by middle-class Americans are being challenged by a younger generation. Our children, growing up in a space-age environment, in which change is extremely rapid, and usually accepted, and in which they are more sensitive to the unknown future than their parents, are the leaders in the assault on our traditional

values. Suburbia no longer is a closely-knit environment in which all of the residents share the same basic values. *The new family* on the block most likely will bring not only different values but may introduce a different culture. No value judgment is being suggested, only that suburbia is becoming a growing mixture of many kinds of people and each wants something different for the youth.

Much has been said about the plight of the urban area and of the "white flight" to the suburbs, but little has been said about the impact of changing demographics on the suburbs and the schools they spawned. Declining enrollments, a changing student population, different values and cultures, and the lack of some stability is causing turmoil in the schools of the suburbs. We are in a period of traumatic transition.

Trends of the Eighties

The unpredictability of the future may be viewed as one of society's assets. If tomorrow were known today, we could not enjoy the present since we would be dreading the pessimistic events to come or anticipating the optimistic activities about to occur. While we cannot predict what will happen, we are able to suggest a variety of alternative futures based upon dependable forecasting by futurists in our society.

A recent report by the U. S. News & World Report suggests "a 1990's profile of a more conservative but more prosperous

America dominated -- economically, anyway -- by pressure for better jobs and pay, and by markets built more around the needs and pleasures of working adults and the elderly and less around children." This changing economy will have an impact on suburbia. Population shifts, as noted earlier, will continue with declining school enrollments (at least at the secondary school level) as a significant symptom. More money per person will be available for spending but inflation will continue. With the children gone, parents, enticed by a growing market of material goods available to meet their personal needs, will continue to resent the call for more taxes to support the educational system. The "MEism" society of the 1970's will continue, and nowhere will this attitude be more prevalent than in the suburbs.

Suburbanites when faced with the prospect of not being able to relocate, will turn to modernizing their homes. There has always been a fascination by suburbanites with "gadgetry." The proliferation of these items will be overwhelming. The micro-miniaturization of electronic devices will offer a new revolution in our way of life, specifically the impending electronic home. Computers will dominate the life of middle-class America. The power line, like the umbilical cord, will sustain the future person encapsulated in an electronic world of home appliances.

Values will continue to change. True individuality will forge a comeback and by the end of the decade will come to fruition. Vestiges of "MEism," individuality in its most negative aspect, will continue to linger but a new concern for one's self as a

responsible person, and for others will emerge in the 1980's -- not necessarily in a social sense but from the need for inter-dependency of one human being with another. The apparent abdication of parent control over the child will change. Parents, with newly acquired parenting skills, will structure the life of their children in such a way as to give the child a greater degree of security, responsibility and sense of direction during the child's growing years. Individualism and responsibility, both personal and social, will characterize the milieu of the schools during the coming decade.

The emphasis on individuality will force educators to find alternative approaches that will provide for individualized learning. Greater experimentation will be seen in the schools of suburbia in an attempt to find the best balance of personalized learning with limited resources to meet society's expectations. Managing tomorrow's schools will require dedicated and highly skilled personnel with the ability to do what might be considered the impossible. Suburban dwellers, however, will expect nothing less in order to ensure true value and maximum return on their tax dollar.

Educational Expectations of the Eighties

The concept of "in loco parentis," that apparently has been rejected by recent major court decisions, will be replaced by a renewed emphasis on a partnership between parents and educators. Parents not only will be expected to, but will actively, participate

in all aspects of their schools. Citizen committees, working cooperatively with educators at the local school level, will design, implement, monitor, and evaluate the instructional program that will ensure that local needs of youth are met. Concurrently, with the advent of more federal dollars being pumped into the educational economy, a national curriculum will begin to emerge. The issue of who will have control of the schools will continue to exist. The federal government will develop a broad curriculum policy, with appropriate financial support, within which local citizen-educator groups will have some flexibility to tailor the curriculum of their schools to meet their specific situation. If Proposition 13 mentality continues, and it appears most likely that it will, the state may wrest additional control away from local districts in all but some innocuous areas. The potential for losing local control will increase unless middle-class America makes it known that it wants control of its own schools.

Increased parent participation will bring about a greater emphasis for accountability. The demand for a more highly educated worker by an increasingly technological society will require that the product of the educational system meet expected competency levels, or remain in the system until he or she does. Once minimum standards have been set and met, there will be a demand to increase the standards to a higher level. Nowhere will this expectation for quality be more pronounced than in suburbia. Unfortunately, youth who are incapable of performing at the expected level, will pose a problem for educators. The "new" high school competency-based

diploma will become a highly desirable status symbol and a passport to key career opportunities.

Accountability and a competency-based educational program will require, and will provide more opportunity for, an increasing emphasis on EACH student. Individualized instruction is not a new concept by any means, but the inability of educators to implement this important strategy is primarily due to the overwhelming numbers of students in each teacher's classroom. When one must educate thirty to forty active young people, whose difference in learning style frequently exceeds any similarities that may exist, it is difficult for the teacher to think and plan individualized learning activities. The potential of the eighties will permit a renewed movement toward personalized, or individualized, instruction. Suburban dwellers will approve of the school's use of electronic "gadgets" to accomplish what has been unattainable in the past.

The use of television, computers, tape-recorders, videotapes, holography, and other multi-media to reach each student individually, and all students collectively, in sequence or at the same time, not only will be found in most suburban schools, but will become common place by the end of the decade. The electronic school, plugged into the electronic home, will push suburbia into the twenty-first century long before the urban or rural schools achieve a readiness for such a move. The cost of this equipment, prohibited in today's economy, will be the most effective and efficient alternative to the continuing high costs of education. If the predicted teacher

shortage occurs by the mid-eighties, school administrators shall have to seek alternative ways to deliver a sound, quality educational program for a demanding suburban population.

A new partnership between parents and educators; a determination to ensure accountability through a competency-based education; an emphasis on personalized instruction using sophisticated electronic equipment; and a dedicated, highly skilled, yet caring, teaching staff supervising a cadre of trained paraprofessionals and technicians, will be the forerunner of a new attitude toward education followed by increasing financial support for schools by our society. The federal government will assume more responsibility for financing education but without the bureaucratic red tape that exists today. Middle-class America's previous faith in education not only will return but will improve as society recognizes and fully accepts the absolute need for an educated citizenry to provide the leadership needed to examine alternative futures and select the best approach to move America into the year 2000 and beyond.

This is not to say that hope for an optimistic educational tomorrow will come soon. The early 1980's will find education continuing to experience the problems of the seventies but there will be a gradual shift away from these problems into a new era whose impetus will reside in a new attitude that will grow out of a belief that in spite of how bad education is perceived today, it still offers the best approach for the improvement of the quality of life and for the provision of a realistic and desirable

future. In the forefront of this movement will be those people who lived and grew up in suburbia during the past two decades. As education goes in the suburbs, so goes the nation.

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THE DOUBLE JEOPARDY OF RURAL SCHOOLS IN THE 1980s

Problems and Potential
for Renewal

Prepared By
Gail Armstrong Parks

National Rural Center
Washington, D.C.

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For rural education, these are the best of times and the worst of times. Times are best because an emerging attitudinal turnaround is directing attention to the part of the nation's educational system that has been the object of a remarkable national neglect for at least six decades, and because promising things are happening locally.¹ It may not be far off the mark to observe that rural education is the happiest place to be in education today, possibly because it has so recently been "discovered" and the tide of enthusiasm for it is new and rising. But times are also worst, because the predictable conditions of the 1980s, whose shortages will bring an inevitable "scaling down", will have greatest impact on those places and populations that had least opportunity to "scale up" when energy was cheap, the GNP increased each year, and the promise of more and better seemed endless. It is no novel assertion to say that the American public is adjusting with difficulty to a late twentieth-century reality: material progress and universal enlightenment are not inevitable. We should not be surprised, then, to hear at times about rural citizens who will not take easily to the notion of having to live with the fact of the prosperity cycle having passed them by. They, too, want a turn at the fount of affluence, and it seems they're not to have it. That is the reality for a fair number of rural communities, whose not-yet-realized blessing may be that in passing them by, material prosperity did not unteach them how to cope when resources are modest. Whether or not the "blessing" is to be realized will depend, in part, on education's leaders and policymakers. It remains to be seen how "enlightened" future policies will be.²

For policymakers, the most important things to know about rural education are the size of the rural constituency and the diversity of rural places. Beyond those, the significant matters are the types of conditions that tend to characterize rural communities (although not all conditions are present everywhere):

a greater incidence of poverty than is found elsewhere; a sparse population; small scale and small size; a non-differentiated economic structure; and "traditional" community structures, i.e., small institutions, few hierarchies, and a necessity for individuals to assume multiple roles. All these are features that contrast sharply with the features of modern bureaucratic institutions and urban post-industrial life.

Roughly one-third of the nation's school-aged population lives in the non-metropolitan U.S., and roughly one-fifth lives in rural places - so-called because they do not "come up" to the definition of urban places.³ Every state in the nation has a rural constituency. Eighteen states, in the last census count, were at least forty percent rural in population. Twenty-six states were at least thirty percent rural. Rural schools, by virtue of smaller size (sometimes necessarily so, sometimes by local choice) outnumber urban ones significantly. In fact, using a student population of 1,000 as the dividing line, school districts on the under-side outnumbered those on the over-side by 8,761 to 7,351 in 1977.

Almost one rural school-aged child in twenty is poor. Forty percent of all U.S. poverty is in rural places, and the chances of falling below the poverty line are reputedly 2 1/2 times greater for a rural person than for a metropolitan person.⁴ In nonmetro America, the median income was \$11,600, compared with \$14,910 in metropolitan America in 1975. For rural minorities, the economic situation is more severe: they are the poorest of the poor, the least educated, the least able to find full-time employment, and generally the most vulnerable to shortages and setbacks. Rural children tend to enter school later than others and leave school earlier. They are least likely to enroll in postsecondary institutions or specialized vocational programs, and they have access to fewer educational services and offerings than do metropolitan students.⁵

But there is no such thing as a typical rural person or a typical rural community, a fact that should challenge policymakers to create imaginative and flexible programs and policies, so that rural schools may adapt them to fit local conditions. Unlike his or her popular image, the country dweller is not usually a full-time farmer or rancher; that category includes only five percent of the rural population. The country man or woman may mine coal; cut and haul timber; work for the Forest Service; fish; pick crab meat; pack apples or salmon; drive a school bus; or weave cotton all day, commute eighty miles round trip, and keep a small truck farm on the side. The terrain may or may not be fertile flat farmland or miles of rangeland dotted with Texas Longhorns and Black Angus. It may be the Rocky Mountains, the Alaska range, or the Blue Ridge Mountains. It may be an island off the coast of Maine, South Carolina, or Maryland. It may be an American Indian reservation in New Mexico or Florida. It may be an Eskimo village that is closer to Siberia than to its own state capital, or it may be a Delta community of former tenant farmers who have no jobs because of farm mechanization. The rural community may consist entirely of Appalachian whites, Southern blacks, Aleuts, Navajos, or Hispanics; it may be racially mixed. In other words, the multiple cultures that make up the nation are all represented in the countryside. It is sometimes affluent and comfortable, although that is not usually so.⁶ It may have nothing "worse" to contend with than a small, sparse population - not quite poor, but almost - and a proud New England tradition of resisting both help and interference from outsiders; or it may be so desperately poor that it resembles a developing country far more than it resembles Kankakee or Bar Harbor. Rural people often live in trailers and small FHA-financed homes. Some continue to live in tumble-down shacks lacking running water and *windowpanes.

Whatever its special character, a rural community is likely not to have benefitted as a rural community from changes that enhanced the material well-being of city dwellers and suburbanites during the greater part of this century. Those things required for advanced forms of industrialization - now acknowledged to be less than entirely desirable - are three things that vary inversely with the character of rural life. For rural America the greatest negative consequence of modernization was loss of wealth and people. Sociologist Daryl Hobbs has offered this observation:

As described by Bowles and Gintis, education became the 20th-century replacement for Horace Greeley's 19th-century advice for the young men to go West.... The response, according to one estimate, meant the migration of \$1 trillion in human capital from rural to urban areas between 1929 and 1969. Considering that during most of this period rural education was paid for almost totally by local property taxes, it is clear that the economic foundations were being laid for what were to become increasing income differentials between rural and urban communities.⁷

During that period of time, opportunities for rural youths were provided through a procedure that guaranteed the decline of many communities: exodus, taken almost as an inevitable accompaniment to the "natural law" of progress. When America was in the process of becoming the world's first industrial power, it required both concentrations of people in cities (where factories were located) and a workforce that had been trained (i.e. "educated") to work for someone else in a hierarchical organization.⁸

Of the two consequences for rural America, one has already been mentioned: the drain of wealth and talent, as the most energetic, best educated rural youth were most likely to follow the "up and out" model of seeking opportunities where opportunities were to be found - in this case "elsewhere," as Sinclair Lewis

knew quite well. The other consequence was equally devastating for numerous rural places, if not worse in the long run: the transformation of schools into organizations that were structurally the antithesis of small town and rural organizations. One thing fed on another.

Sociologists since Max Weber have been writing about the nature of bureaucracies and speculating about their power to condition human attitudes and perception - in a phrase, to re-create the person. Although merits and effects are much disputed, the essential features of bureaucracies are not: centralized decision-making, hierarchical authority patterns, and increasingly simple forms of specialization as one nears the bottom rung in the hierarchical ladder. As an adjunct to bureaucracies, factories require a workforce able to endure long periods of boredom, to take orders without questioning their merit, to relate to authority structures more than to the natural complexity of people *qua* people, and to function in a narrowly-defined role. Small communities require the opposite. To the degree that small places thrive - or simply endure - they contain "critical masses" of individuals who can assume multiple roles, feel a sense of familiarity with a variety of human types and ages, find innovative ways to tackle problems and arrange services, and be more entrepreneurial than bureaucratic in outlook. Thus when schools come to resemble the bureaucracies of a mass society more than they resemble the places in which they are physically situated, the chances for the alienation of young people from their origins are substantial.

This situation has happened to a great many rural schools over the past 100 years, especially during the period between World War II and the early 1970s, the period of intensive school consolidation that coincided with three U.S. wars - or more precisely, two wars and a "conflict" that lasted longer than the

ware. Rural males between the ages of about 25 and 60 are likely to have spent time in the armed forces, another bureaucratic organization requiring obedience to authority and acceptance of a limited role for the enlisted man. We do not know the impact of this experience for rural places.

The important points here are that (1) small rural schools supported primarily by local taxes have made an enormous contribution to the country as a whole, particularly to its metropolitan areas, and (2) rather than repaying that debt to rural America, national policies have encouraged the transformation of rural schools into the kinds of institutions that do not fit rural conditions, and they have failed to address the need for policies enabling rural development. Rural people for decades have gone along with the theory that local tax money must be spent to teach their children how to leave home and work for someone else in a large urban organization. Believing in the rhetoric of equal opportunity and "doing right" by their children, they have somewhat selflessly - and somewhat naively - failed to question the implementation of opportunity through the "up and out" model. To save the children, rural communities have often declined and died.

A complex set of relationships among individuals, school, home, community, and the wider society are involved here, but most will be passed over in this essay, which is about schools. The changing role of the rural school, and its potential for revitalizing rural communities, must be closely examined, with particular attention to promising ideas and ongoing experiments and innovations.

One reason for country peoples' strong resistance to school consolidation is that they have not wanted to lose a - sometimes the - central community institution. Lacking the array of institutions for art, adult learning, sport, and civic events that cities have, rural communities have used their schools for

all the above. Schools have also been "meeting houses" where young meet old, where parents meet teachers and principals (and are often one and the same), and where business people, farmers and preachers can swap concerns about the community's health and well being. Without community schools, the chances for these meetings are reduced, and with those missed meetings go opportunities for young people to grow up knowing the people who represent the economic and social institutions of their community.

If they should return - and indeed where they still exist - community schools acting in isolation are unlikely to have the efficacy that they had before World War II. To some extent, the world has changed in irreversible ways; and it simply is not practical to teach students only about their own part of the world. To be effective, learning must begin on that topic,⁹ but it must expand to include the larger world outside because students are linked with it, for better or worse. The question for rural education is: Can rural schools use the old basic rural model but modify it so that it meets current needs and contributes to both the individual student's best interests and rural community development? Present evidence - though sparse and scattered - indicates that the answer is yes. Not only can it happen; in some rural communities, it is happening.

Space does not permit a description of even the most promising events of this type, but their essential features can be documented here as indications of what is needed.¹⁰ They are also set forth as hints for policymakers who would like to help rural schools in the 1980s escape the double jeopardy of a past that has ignored and penalized them and a future that is likely to be short on conventional energy sources and domestic social programs. Through local initiatives, a number of rural communities are coping or learning to cope. We argue in this

essay that national policies should support and enable local initiatives, and that there are specifiable procedures for so doing.

Contemporary rural education reforms that look most promising seem predicated on a recognition of some elementary "human truths":

1. As Eliot Wigginton, Foxfire originator, keeps saying, until a students' sense of self-worth has been established, "nothing else (a teacher does) will make any difference."¹¹ Self-esteem is a necessary but not sufficient condition for both individual and community well being. It occurs for both when actions that make a difference are permitted, acknowledged, and rewarded. It is tied to the growth of competence.

2. No institution in a small place can function effectively as an island. To maximise resources, local institutions must collaborate and form systematic linkages.

3. Development addresses the waste of human potential by providing opportunities for the "under-developed" (including adults) to learn and to participate in meaningful ways.

4. As individuals interact with a variety of other people and with institutions that expand their horizons and help educate them, their range of competencies and understanding expands. Book learning alone will not do it.

5. Small economic enterprises can still be viable enterprises; in some places, they are the only feasible alternative to decline and loss.

Rural communities throughout the country have come upon ways to apply this "wisdom," which is often expressed but too little used in educational policy and practice. Communities in Minnesota and Arkansas have linked - or begun to link - schools and business enterprises to promote local development in sensible ways. Eliot Wigginton's Foxfire concept, a "radical empiricism"¹² that blends the essential components of education through a process of turning students

loose to do real work that makes a difference, has been adopted in at least 150 U.S. communities and in about a dozen foreign settings. Black groups in the deep South and white groups in Appalachia are engaged in community education endeavors that attempt to use networking, coalition building, and public-private sector collaboration to promote economic and other forms of rural development. Small, isolated island schools in Maine, North Carolina and other parts of the country use their own settings as a basis for the curriculum and participate regularly in exchange programs and field trips to the mainland so that they may be able to live in both worlds.

Most of these efforts have explicitly or implicitly acknowledged (1) that local life has value for both learning (curriculum) and living; and (2) that rural students need, more than almost anything else, to learn entrepreneurship. This may not be a conscious revolt against the practice of teaching students how to work for someone else in another place rather than how to create a job or a business for oneself in one's own place; it may be the folk wisdom that intuitively recognizes signs of imminent disaster and acts to avert them. If the latter, it has a remarkable congruence with some of the latest social science wisdom about coping with future scarcity and seems entirely in tune with a sentiment that staff members at the National Rural Center hear being played over and over again as they travel throughout rural America: self-reliance, local initiative, collaboration, tradition, small can be beautiful.

These efforts are responses to past conditions of neglect and future promises of reduced resources; in other words, to challenges that were created by events beyond rural control. The degree to which people behind the efforts have had to overcome serious obstacles created by existing programs, policies, and institutional arrangements should not be underestimated. By and large, Federal education programs since 1965 were designed with metropolitan populations and middle-to-large

schools in mind. The vast array of regulations and reporting requirements, as well as eligibility criteria for some programs and services, discourage minimal participation from rural schools, not to mention new initiatives. Both state and Federal rules and regulations tend to have urban or large school biases. For every reason that a locality finds for attempting an innovation, an SEA or a Federal agency may be able to name ten reasons why it cannot be done or why it can be done only with considerable difficulty over a long period of time. Schools as bureaucratic organizations rather than as local institutions, moreover, have few incentives at this time to collaborate or to create local curricula and foster entrepreneurship as a pervasive part of school learning. It is possible that most "reformed" rural schools may have forgotten the days when things were otherwise.

During the coming year, as a new Department of Education takes shape, a concerted effort needs to occur. Policymakers, officials, and education researchers need to examine all existing programs, policies, regulations, and guidelines from a rural schools point of view. Those elements that inhibit local initiative and collaboration, as well as those that penalize schools for being small and/or remote, should be refashioned. Anything that does not acknowledge the fact of rural isolation, and subsequent difficulties in accessing information about programs and services, should be changed.¹³ Anything that fails to take into account the vulnerability of small rural places to shortages and outbacks should be revised to take that factor into account.¹⁴ In the end, greater flexibility will be required so that rural localities can establish for themselves the particular linkages and collaborative arrangements that suit their circumstances. And in the end, special assistance for remote and very poor schools may be absolutely necessary. It should not be grudging, even in retrenchment areas. It is especially necessary in lean times to assure that the leanest do not wither or starve.

In addition to the humanitarian, or civilised, reasons for supporting vulnerable rural populations, there is a reason so practical that it is superseded by none. All social and economic indicators suggest that rural development will be a worldwide priority for the next several decades. This will be the case particularly for agriculture, and for those parts of the world that are agriculturally fertile or potentially so. The "new movement" in rural education, as well as the reverse migration to the countryside that preceded it,¹⁵ are merely harbingers of things to come, as well as belated recognition of what must happen if our society is to remove rural people from the double jeopardy that confronts them now. (And that confronts us all.) What needs to happen, therefore, seems clear: for the next ten years, rural education should be targeted as a national priority, for it is the sector most pivotal in the education arena, affecting urban and suburban populations with increasing directness.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. It is difficult to choose a precise time when neglect of rural schools became pronounced. 1920 seems a reasonable date to assume the beginning of greater neglect than formerly because the U.S. Census Bureau declared that year that, for the first time in its history, U.S. rural population outranked urban population by about one percent.
2. The question of poverty vs. affluence is, of course, more complex than the official "poverty line" suggests. A farmer may look financially comfortable on paper but be so heavily indebted that little cash is at hand. And many people who are not "officially poor" are barely on the other side of the line and thus extremely vulnerable to setbacks.
3. "Hamlet" refers to a place with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants and those living nearby. Rural refers to the open countryside, and to places of fewer than 2,500 people that are not near metro areas.
4. Daryl Hobbs. Revitalizing Rural Education: Object or Instrumentality of Rural Development. Paper presented at the National Seminar on Rural Education: College Park, Maryland. May 1979.
5. Frank A. Pratoe. Rural Education and Rural Labor Force in the Seventies. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic, Statistics, and Cooperative Service. Rural Development Research Report No. 5, Washington, D.C., 1977.
6. See note 2 above.
7. See Hobbs, p. 2.
8. Jonathan P. Sher, ed. Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado, 1977. See esp. Final chapter.
9. This statement grows from an often repeated "principle" in education that people learn from experience and proceed from concrete to abstract learning - and from a sad condition of much rural schooling: that children study geography books about Afghanistan and South Africa while knowing nothing of their own locality's history, governance, or services.
10. For a brief overview of selected rural education efforts, see the forthcoming issue of PIA TODAY (December 1979 - January 1980), which focuses on rural education.
11. See Eliot Wigginton. Moments. Kennebunk, Maine. Star Press, Inc. 1975.
12. David Shapiro. "Recovering a Sense of Past and Place," Saturday Review of Literature. April 29, 1972. P. 36.
13. For a discussion of missing and needed information for and about rural education, see Gail A. Parks and Jonathan P. Sher. Imaginary Gardens? Real Problems: An Analysis of Federal Information Sources on Rural Education. ERIC/CRESS: Las Cruces, New Mexico. March 1979.

14. Distance and sparsity are obvious problems. The lack of infrastructures in rural places to support the alleviation of poverty may, however, be a more serious problem.
15. See Calvin L. Seale: The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic, Statistics, and Cooperative Services: Washington, D.C. 1975.

POSITION PAPER

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House of Representatives
Committee on Education and Labor
Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary
and Vocational Education

By Elisabeth A. Dillon-Peterson

This paper reviews three topics which relate to educational concerns both now and in the foreseeable future. It then suggests some possible ways of providing for those concerns. The three topics are: (a) general societal concerns relating to education, (b) concerns relating to education from the local school district point of view, and (c) special concerns relating to the continuing education of professional staff members.

General Societal Concerns

Education, like all public institutions, is currently suffering from general malaise and loss of support, both psychological and economic. Although its record is not as bad as its reputation, and it does fare better than other public institutions (including the Congress) when it comes to public esteem, it struggles constantly against a pervasive lack of confidence. Unfortunately, this lack of confidence, supported by horror stories of those who are graduated from school unable to read or write, or with inadequate survival skills, is making itself felt in the form of growing criticism, talk of voucher systems, and an increasing tendency for those who can afford to do so to seek private school education for their children. The spectre of a school system which has been desegregated by court order and which has become re-segregated through this process is frightening. Increasingly, the public schools may become the domain of racial minorities and the poor. This movement is likely to stratify society more and more rather than to make it more egalitarian.

Ironically, at the same time that education is losing public confidence, it is being subjected to ever-increasing pressures to become the base from which social problems such as racial inequality, drug abuse, sexual promiscuity, and

equity for the handicapped can be solved. It is held responsible for these problems although they are not primarily educational but reach to the heart of society. At the same time it is severely chastised for its inability to do what it was essentially intended to do—give young people the kind of learning skills which enable them to be confident contributing adults.

Even if the school were to accept responsibility for all the demands made on it, society has no consensus as to what the schools should or should not be expected to do. And therein lies one of the greatest needs of education—and society at large—at the present time. That is the need for a sense of common purpose for education as one of its major institutions. What is essential is some kind of national agreement about what education can reasonably be expected to do—and by the same token—what it can not reasonably be expected to do. Until such a national course is charted, educators and the nation will continue to wallow in indecision, increasing criticism, and frustration regarding the education of its youth—and perhaps its adults.

School District Concerns

School districts today are struggling with a multiplicity of problems. Economic constraints impinge directly on every phase of operation from increased salary demands for teachers caught in the web of inflation to difficulties faced due to rapidly escalating heating costs. The net result of the growing demands on the schools, increasing costs, and unwillingness of the public to adequately fund education results in the impossible paradox of needing to provide more services with less resources. This is especially painful when it is acknowledged that generally those school districts which have consistently spent more money for all students have consistently produced better test results. It appears obvious that as resources decline, quality will also decline.

Too frequently, state and federal governmental units (responding to their constituencies) place requirements on the schools for which inadequate funding

is not forthcoming. An example of this is the enormous amount of accommodations school districts must make in meeting the requirements of 94-142—such of which must come from existing funds, not supplemental. When such expenses (which are far out of the ordinary) must come from the budget, the program for "regular" students must be diminished in some way or additional revenue must be acquired through increasing the burden of local taxpayers. One wonders how soon the parents of "normal" children will begin to demand the individual attention now being required for students at each end of the continuum.

The growth of citizen militance and demands for involvement have placed the school district in the uncomfortable position of having to attempt to respond to a variety of publics—frequently publics which are in direct disagreement with each other. And these publics show little tendency to collaborate or even to compromise in meeting mutual goals, relying on such confrontation strategies as those promoted by Saul Alinsky to promote their causes. As these demands become progressively more difficult to meet in toto, it is likely that many high quality individuals will become disenchanted with the abuse they must take and will leave administration and teaching. Equally as sad—or perhaps even sadder—effective, conscientious board members who are interested in looking at the total picture and promoting quality education for all youth within the limits of the community's ability to support, will find the personal sacrifice and psychological harassment not worth the effort and will abandon education to those with more narrow special interests, impoverishing it even more.

Local school districts constantly struggle to meet the demands of their local constituencies, but they are also forced to overcome obstacles placed in their paths by their friends in the state and federal education bureaucracies who tend to strangle the local district through a multiplicity of regulations. Accountability comes down more to suspicion and distrust than to mutual effort toward the solution of serious problems.

As teachers begin to flex their political muscle and turn more and more to the use of the strike to make themselves heard, the rift between teachers and administrators widens, and the concerns of students are frequently not given primary consideration. As teachers close ranks in the negotiations process, there also is danger that it will become more and more difficult to remove the inept staff member and to upgrade the quality of the personnel who work with students.

Continuing Professional Development Concerns

In times of tight money, it is characteristic that the last programs to be included in the budget are the first to be considered for elimination. Because of the fact that inservice training or staff development programs are some of the most recently added across the country, they are among those first considered for elimination.

Sadly, there appears to be no other reasonable alternative for the upgrading and revitalizing of educators. Because of the declining student enrollments and consequent growing stagnation of the job market teachers will continue to remain in their present situations for most or all of their careers.

And so, there is a distinct possibility that the very means by which student test scores might be raised, by which students can learn to become productive citizens contributing to the economic base, and by which teachers can be encouraged to find more professional satisfaction in their work—potentially changing the pessimistic tone of the society—may be foregone because of the lack of recognition of its significance.

This is a bit like the saying, "For lack of a nail the shoe was lost; for lack of a shoe, the horse was lost; for lack of a horse, the rider was lost; for lack of a rider, the battle was lost." For lack of attention to the continuing educational needs of teachers on site, the educational battle may be lost.

Recommendations

We as a nation need desperately to give serious, immediate attention to the purposes of education. We need to focus our attention on it as never before. We need to get the best minds in our country to look at its possibilities—and its limitations—and to determine a national direction for it which will provide a realistic sense of direction for all citizens—recognizing that all citizens are affected by education in critical ways.

One way of accomplishing this Herculean task would be to commission the new Cabinet officer for Education, when appointed, to organize to conduct local and regional consensus-building conventions between now and 1963, which should be followed by a national convention having as its purposes:

1. Clarification of what schools should and should not be expected to do.
2. Development of short and long range goals which will, in effect, provide a framework within which educators can work positively constructively, and flexibly toward common ends.
3. Determination of what commitment we as individuals and a nation have to education—both in terms of human energy and economic commitment in the light of the goals envisioned.

Short of this kind of national consensus-building effort, it would be helpful if there were a less complex set of regulations governing the activities of local school districts—many of which make it more difficult to provide quality instruction for students than more possible. Direct grants to schools without the need for satisfying layer after layer of the bureaucracy and providing separate mini-administrators for each separate program program which drain off funds applicable for student services, would be most welcome.

Elizabeth A. Dillon-Peterson, Ed.D.
Director of Staff Development
Lincoln Public Schools
Lincoln, Nebraska

PART III

KNOWLEDGE, TECHNOLOGY AND CURRICULUM

(872)

Public Elementary and Secondary Education in the '80s

H. S. Broudy, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The major fact confronting public schooling in the coming decade is the further fragmentation of the public into many small publics. Trying to adapt to a multiplicity of constituencies that share no unified goal, set of values, or a common vision of the good life, may be more than the present system can survive.

Two lines of inquiry should be pursued in testing this hypothesis. One is into evidence of the fragmentation. I would study the fragmentation caused by the mandates of state and federal legislative bodies enacted in the last decade, especially since the Civil Rights legislation of the mid-sixties (special education, compensatory education, bilingual education, mainstreaming). Further, we should learn more about the single-issue constituencies that have proliferated in the last decade and their diverse demands on the schools. One might investigate profitably the effects of the diversity of demands on the costs of getting children ready to learn as distinguished from the costs of actual instruction. Also worthy of a systematic investigation are the changes in the employment tracks for school personnel as a result of efforts of the schools to respond to mandated curricula, modes of teaching, testing, etc.

The other line of inquiry should be directed toward the ability of the public school to cope with uncontrolled diversity. Especially important are the time lags, i.e., the time it takes to change a curriculum, a set of text materials, or the consciousness of teachers whose mental furniture has already been arranged in fairly fixed patterns. The strategy of teacher training will have to be re-examined, if the attempt to meet the diversity with diversity is to be taken seriously and implemented in school practice.

My own pessimism with respect to the ability of the schools to respond successfully to the fragmentation is based on the following more or less related considerations:

1. The growth of privatism and voucherism. These moves reflect many motives, some not altogether admirable. But they show that an alternative to public schooling is being considered seriously by an increasing portion of the most influential portion of the population. When these groups complain about the inadequacy of the public schools, they mean in effect that their particular complex of expectations, values, and ideology are not receiving sufficient attention. For some it is basics, for some it is open schooling, for some it is freedom from conventional value schemes, for many it is standard preparation for admission to a "good" college.

2. The attempt to force public schools to respond to the demands of every constituency strong enough to exert political pressure leads to more and more specific training of teachers with a heavy emphasis on apprenticeship. This has been called competency-based teacher training, which is best accomplished by practice on tasks divided into small segments and defined in publicly observable activities. If this trend continues, there is a real possibility that the teaching staff will consist of narrowly trained paraprofessionals working under the supervision of shop forepersons. This development will reverse a fifty-year trend to more professionalized teacher education. What the response of teacher organizations to such developments will be is hard to foretell, but it may be welcomed by those elements in the community that do not wish to utilize the public schools for their children and by those whose primary goal is the reduction of taxes.

3. Of even greater danger to the public schools is the abandonment of its mission as a preparation for democratic citizenship. Whether it was the

version of Thomas Jefferson, Horace Mann, or John Dewey, it held that a democratic society demanded an enlightened citizenry, presumably all the citizens. Enlightenment meant knowledge and rational action based on it. Only universal --and in time, compulsory--schooling would accomplish this. The requirements of adequacy in citizenship were thought to meld with adequacy for vocation and personal development. Something like the American Creed celebrated by Gunnar Myrdal in *An American Dilemma*, despite the debunking efforts of the revisionist historians of education, did provide an ideological cement that unified and rationalized a wide variety of efforts to accommodate the school to wave after wave of immigration, a major depression, and several wars. Much of this Creed may have been ignored in practice, but it was not mere rhetoric. Nothing on the horizon promises to take its place, so that instead of cultural pluralism being variations on a theme enriching society, it is now a congerie of variations perhaps not even in search of a theme--that can impoverish society.

If I were to look for a unifying principle it would not be in a political creed or ideology. It would be a return to a subject-matter general education curriculum K-12. It would contain the following strands. There would be diversity within the strands to accommodate individual differences in learning readiness, but the design would be the same for all:

- Strand 1. The symbolics of information--the skills of language and computation.
- Strand 2. The key concepts of a selected set of the physical sciences and mathematics.
- Strand 3. Developmental studies in three substrands: The development of the cosmos, the development of institutions, the development of the culture (arts and sciences).
- Strand 4. Problem solving of current societal import.
- Strand 5. Exemplars--a selected set of class works that are worth studying in great detail.

The adoption of such a curriculum design would provide what a school and a school alone can contribute to the common needs of all constituencies, albeit not to their idiosyncratic interests. Special interests could be pursued as extra-curricular activities or in private schools. Vocational training should be provided in great variety by post-secondary schools. If there is uniformity in Grades K-12, we can have fruitful variety in subsequent grades. The return to a lean subject-matter curriculum of general education would give an intelligible and defensible meaning to public schooling for the public good. Moreover, it would take seriously the rhetoric of equal opportunity; namely, an equal chance for all children to study the disciplines that provide the form and substance for an educated mind. Schemes that purport to provide equal opportunity by unequal programs are not equal.

If this remedy seems simplistic, it is intended to be so--an alternative to complex schemes that are no solution to anything.

Irving H. Buchen
 Dean, School of Humanities
 California State College
 San Bernardino, CA 92407

CURRICULUM 2000: FUTURES BASICS

Those societies which cannot combine reverence for
 their symbols with freedom for their revision must
 ultimately decay....

Alfred North Whitehead

More than eighty percent of those currently alive will live to see the year 2000. More to the point here, high school graduates in June, 1979 will be only thirty nine years old when the 21st Century dawns. Kindergarteners starting in September, 1979 will be only twenty six. In other words, we already are educating the generation that will live a substantial portion of their productive lives in America's Third Century. So much then for being self-indulgent in focusing on the year 2000 in 1979.

Such demographic projections often generate contrary impulses. On the one hand, there is the sense that whatever the future will bring, it will be different enough to force a re-examination of our curriculum priorities. On the other hand, there is the painful awareness that given the way education is structured or rigged little or nothing can be done to bring about any change, especially during periods of insecurity. But perhaps that latter scepticism needs some re-examination itself.

All trends point to extensive in-service activities for public education and to considerable retraining for higher education for the next ten to fifteen years. (Between 1978 and 1990, for example, nationally there will be a decline of between 20 and 30 percent of the number of young adults, 17-21.) Whether that inservice commitment will be officially characterized as "recertification" or be part of an

enlightened tenure review policy, professional staff development is emerging as one of the most reasonable and comprehensive ways of dealing with a number of constraints acting on education. These include increasingly tenured, steady-state staff; declining enrollments often accompanied by correspondingly declining budgets; pressures for greater productivity (do more with less, or do more with the same amount); greater public pressure for performance against test results or master plans; greater commitment to career education and Back to Basics.

The prospect of extensive retraining and redirection provides a rare historical opportunity to pause and to reflect over what has been done, with what results; and what should be considered to prepare students to live in the 21st Century. But there is another, larger reason to pause at this point; to examine where education itself stands in the general projection of things to come, if for no other reason that we have to practice the futurism we profess for our students, on ourselves.

When forecasters seek to separate the sheep from the goats, the strong trends from the skittery ones, their dividing vocabulary is that of probable futures on the high end and possible futures on the low end. Often the process of categorization stops there, but there is another category, usually reserved for and monopolized by dreamy humanists: and that is the notion of preferable futures. To be sure, it is distressing often to find that what is designated as highly probable stands far away from a future that to you is dearly preferable. Indeed, in methodological terms, the gulf between the two is generally characterized as the planning gap, for the aim of planning interventions is to bring preferable hopes at least in line with possible futures and closer to probable futures. Now education in the last few years and likely into the future has enjoyed the dubious distinction of regularly being at variance with the mainstream of probable trends. In other words, the dilemma of education can be defined as a regular gulf that

exists between what probably will happen and what is needed to happen. Being regularly put off from the center of things undoubtedly accounts for the demoralizing attitude of many in education and for the increasing brain drain especially of younger teachers from the periphery of education to the center of business.

If then history is forcing upon us the involuntary options of being re-trained, retooled and retreaded, we ought at least to respond in kind by having some say about what form and direction all that recreation will take. I would urge that the focus of that retraining should be preferable futures as in the long run the most realistic way of serving the future needs of students. As Teilhard de Chardin noted:

Our modern world was created in less than 10,000 years, and in the last 200 years it has changed more than in all the preceding millenia. Have we ever thought what our planet will be like, psychologically, in a million years time? It is finally the Utopians, not the "realists," who make scientific sense.¹

Having been stirred by such heady prophecy, we now have to settle down in harness and speculate about what kind of future we are likely to have by the year 2000; and given that prospect how well are we preparing students now for such a future, and what else might we be doing?

I

For our purposes here it is not necessary to develop an elaborate and complete scenario for the year 2000, but rather to concentrate on those developments that will impact on education and in turn be impacted on by education. I will limit myself to five, the first being perhaps a scandalous disclaimer.

There is an incredible diversity of forecasts about the future, especially in the United States. Extremes are norms: zero-growth at one end of the spectrum to growth-orgy at the other. And in between are all sorts of adjusted positions:

steady state, dynamic equilibrium, moderate growth, etc. The confusion is reflected in the related uncertainty as to what to call the future. We have a number of post-definitions: Bell's post-industrial; McLuhan's post-alphabet; Gappert's post-affluent; Mumford's post-historical. And so it goes. A rapid way of preserving that diversity but containing it is to employ the notion of simultaneous futures, or why can't they all be right somewhat?² After all, planners generally recognize that nothing ever happens uniformly or totally, and that at any given moment in time there are expanding, steady-state and declining futures; and that further the entire process can be averaged out, once properly weighted, to arrive at where most of us will be anyhow. But what is extremely important about this trend of strong and intense differences of opinion about the future, is that whereas a business, a governmental agency or a religious constituency may have to ultimately plunk down for one kind of future to plan for and bank on, education can never put all its eggs in one future basket; and still remain at least an advocate for the multiple and diverse interests of its students.

Given such heterogeneity, subjected in turn to long-term multiplicity, the accountability of education has to be redefined to become the futurability of education. For every current and projected new component of the curriculum, we have to ask to what extent does that piece aside from apparently being needed now have the future potential of being durable, flexible, and transferrable. The additional value of the futurability of education as a new standard is that it would compel all educational research and evaluation to forsake the single shot, single issue approach and become longitudinal and clustered to be acceptable. In design terms, what this all boils down to is the notion of an adaptability curriculum for an uncertain future.³ We have no other responsible choice, for if the experts, including this one, are wrong in what they project, and if curricula thrusts are based on those projections, then we may produce the ulti-

mate form of irrelevant education and provide full justification for our previous ineptitude of regularly being off the mark. Finally, the commitment to an adaptability curriculum may mean that the most forward-looking curriculum paradoxically may be the least futuristic in appearance. It may appear conservative, even reactionary, in its resurrection of self-reliance, although its linkage to the autonomous learner and group reliance may evidence its futuristic thrust.

The four remaining trends should not really be disaggregated for part of their power derives from their being so intertwined that they travel forward with the force of a reinforcing cluster, as or Herman Kahn would call it, a multiform trend. The four ingredients of this configuration are the creation of an incredible information society; a rage for quantification approaching the worship of numeracy as the future version of literacy; the development of technologies that bring about a symbiotic equalization between machine and human beings; and finally the increase in institutions and systems of organized complexity. All these trends already surround us today but they will increase to the point where they will have the force of a difference not just in degree but in kind as well.

The creation of an information society without precedent in history is being accompanied ironically by having less time and categories to absorb the new data and knowledge. Desperately, the increase in number of new specializations and disciplinary categories will continue and try to keep pace with the exponential explosion. There will also be more cross-disciplinary and cross-referenced information than ever before, although that proliferation will not be matched by a proportionate increase in the number of cross-disciplinary categories or disciplines. Part of this data and information overload stems from the field of education itself. The present generation of students are the most tested and surveyed generation of students in the history of public education. All indications are that the process will continue unless and until costs slow it

down or stop it altogether.

As knowledge increases, there will be more knowledge obsolescence. In an information society that also means more people obsolescence. The notion of life-long learning as an option of leisure will be obscured by the more pressing necessity of workers having to acquire more and more education and reeducation. Already in graduate education the trend of multiple masters degrees, especially to keep pace with middle level professionals, is already surfacing and soon will be increasingly accompanied by the upward mobility of two Ph. D's being required to certify expertise. In Western Europe, the opportunity of retraining has been negotiated as a right by labor unions for their workers displaced by productivity or shifting consumer preferences. If economic growth continues to be a modestly slow 1-2 percent per year and if competition for jobs continues and even increases, then there will be a greater under-employment and greater under-utilization of education and ability--in short, the essential indicators of an overqualified society. A surplus of unproductive people, through no fault of their own, will thus be available to education which specializes in absorbing the unproductive, through no fault of its own.

Partly as a result of the information society, but also partly as a result of a host of other pressures--accountability, rigorous methodologies, pressures for validation and measurement, etc.--quantification has become and increasingly will become the norm. It already has entered the social sciences in a substantial and divisive way; a new journal appeared entitled Quantitative Sociology. The Journal of Communications published by the prestigious Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania will not even consider let alone accept articles that are purely descriptive and analytical unless they are accompanied by statistical buttressing. In a shortfall economy, numbers rule the day. Not too long ago in New York City during budget review time, it was

rumored that the various borough arts councils would be cut to the bone. An enterprising retired executive began a series of calculations on the impact of the arts--theater, ballet, opera, galleries, etc.--on employment, hotels, restaurants, etc. And for the annual investment of \$200,000. for all the boroughs he was able to post a nearly 4 billion dollar impact or yield--a record no other department could rival. The traditional cries of preserving the arts against the encroachments of the BIG MAC philistines evidently no longer can be counted on to carry the day. The numbers can and did.

The trend toward numbers like digital watches and calculators is unmistakable. Indeed, my judgment is that there will be proportionately more use of quantification by the social sciences in the future than by the traditional hard sciences. The new priority assigned to numerical measurement and accountability is undoubtedly related to the discovery of limits--of limits to growth, caps to budgets, constraints on new appointments and programs, limits to debt, limits to taxes. Proposition 13, please note, is a concept expressed as a number; and what it has to do with is numerical as well. In short, whatever the fate of literacy, from a futures point of view we are entering an Age of Numeracy, which in turn exists in an unholy or holy alliance, depending on your point of view, with the Age of Technology.

What should be made clear from the outset is that the moment we designate technology as a crucial driving force in its own right what we are signifying is that the machine has gone beyond the category of being an obedient servant. In other words, we are essentially describing an equalizing process in which machines begin to occupy a shared status with the humans who create them. The computer provides an excellent example. The first generation of computers--it is significant that we now apply to computers a term normally reserved for human beings--was given problems to solve which we knew were solvable but which would have

required 12 mathematicians working 6 months and then 4 additional mathematicians another 6 months to find the errors made by some or all of the 12. Here the computer was really used as a mundane slave--doing the dirty work that we would not stoop to. Gradually, as the programming of the mechanical brain became more sophisticated, we sought to put upon the computer capacities which exceeded our own, in particular the capacity to juggle a number of variables at the same time. We succeeded here but it went beyond our expectations. Ordinarily, the computer so programmed would be merely a mechanical extension of our own ability. But what the computer did that we did not expect is that it began to tell us something we did not know. Specifically, in the process of juggling those many variables, which we thought were essentially constant, we discovered some discrepancies which ultimately revealed that some of the variables were leaky. They were not tight containers or orbital systems that remained fixed; moreover, they dribbled onto other variables and altered them in turn. The result is that we not only learned what we wanted to know, but we learned more than we bargained for.⁴ We had invented not a tool but a partner; and the moment that occurred human beings were poised for a future in which in addition to all the interpersonal and intergenerational relationships they had to form, they now had also to prepare themselves for a futuristic relationship--a symbiotic one with machines. In fact, I believe that already there are an increasing number of people who have formed better relationships with machines than with human beings, and in the future the competition for relationships between people and people may be less intense than the competition between people and machines. That machines could be that attractive is not surprising to Arthur C. Clarke who once quipped that if a war would ever break out between men and machines it would not be difficult to guess who started it.⁵

Finally, there is the long-standing trend which shows no signs of abatement--

the increasing complexification of the world. By this is not meant solely the familiar notion that because we know more the world is denser. Rather, that because we know more our institutions and organizations have become denser. Warren Weaver calls the products of this structural replication, systems of organized complexity. Before him, Mumford with less pretense to objectivity dubbed them pejoratively megamachines. Modern corporations, with or without their multi-national counterparts, have become enormously complex, diverse and interlocking as the most incredible super-machines. Similarly, separate sectors of the society and the economy move about with the thump of a colossus--the banking system, the insurance industry, the social security system, the United Automobile Workers, the telecommunications networks, etc. Much of the recent density of the last ten years has been the result of acquisitions--of each major corporation diversifying so as to minimize risk and optimize investment and profits. The net effect is that many major corporations are little worlds--miniatures of the world at large in all its variety and extent. The relative macro sameness of these variegated megamachines has accommodated another parallel managerial development. Originally, presidents of automobile companies began in the industry and worked their way to the top. That still happens or can happen but the dramatic managerial change is the appointment of an executive from the plywood field to run a major domestic airlines. That kind of cross-over is accommodated by a new managerial transferability on the one hand and by intense commonality of organizational structures on the other. Finally, megamachines have become more complex as the environment has become more sophisticated. It is as if the symbiotic relationship postulated between human and machines has been carried over so that between institutions and institutional environments.⁶ The symbiosis in this instance takes the form of converting external changes of complexity into internal versions of matching density. Now although it is true that men made megamachines it is more true to say now and in the future that megamachines make megamachine men. That

may or may not be sinister, but what clearly has to be underscored for the future of students and of their education is that more and more people will be employed by structures of organized complexity and that somewhere in the curriculum it might be as important to dissect a megamachine as a frog.

If the outcome of the first trend on uncertainty was to place considerable emphasis on adaptability, then the four remaining trends describe what it may be necessary to adapt to. Moreover, because these four trends are so enormous and reinforcing, and by comparison we appear so small and ill-equipped, the goal of adaptability has to evidence flexibility itself; specifically it should accommodate a sliding adjustable scale ranging from the minimum to the optimum. Thus, the first concern is how do we cope, then how do we keep up, then how do we manage and finally how do we direct the future? But first we have to take stock and determine whether in light of these four trends what we are currently doing and plan to be doing is keeping us abreast or are we going up a down escalator?

II

Ideally every school should be a miniature information society. It is not for two basic reasons. First, it thinks it is, primarily because it has a library and because it teaches library skills. The inadequacy of that assumption appears regularly whenever a publisher or curriculum developer in addition to standard texts and materials provides data packets or information banks which either exceed the holdings of the library or the research capacity of the school to extract such information from current holdings. Second, the critical faculty, is increasingly being devaluated. More schools appear to be putting a higher value upon expression than analysis--on encouraging students to say what they believe and feel rather than to think about what they believe said and feel. Indeed, it has become fashionable to ridicule anyone who thinks, and especially anyone who thinks in terms of data by having him speak or sound like a computer. The net result is

that as far as the projected information society is concerned, the future is gaining ground faster than we are catching up.

I will concede that the stress on computational skills as part of basics and the number of students who have taken courses in computer science are encouraging signs that the second trend, that of increasing quantification, is being faced more directly. Gains however in high school often are offset by humanists in college still talking about dehumanization without being aware that they are educating a new generation of students who have been exposed to computers and lo and behold have not been mechanized. But here, too, the entire matter is too chancy. For example, how many of the current social science teachers, especially of the older more descriptive school, will welcome and incorporate the new stress on quantification? Then, too, how much attention will be given to such basic computational and statistical skills as compiling budgets, miles per gallon and depreciation, the long form of the income tax, the deductions from one's paycheck, the computation of interest charges, the nature of insurance premiums and dividends, pension and social security plans, etc? What is not generally known and what is even less often examined is the federal budget (or a piece of it). When the president presents that budget, two institutions, aside from Congress, immediately begin to engage it: The Brookings Institution and the Urban League. And because their versions of what the national budget should be are often drastically different, what immediately becomes clear is that whatever accounting or quantification skills may be required, a budget is a national priority system in that one puts one's money where one's values are.

As far as technology is concerned, the beast is here to stay and curiously the more one accepts and understands the monster the more benevolent it seems. I think the basic problem is that there is pervasive technophobia among the humanities and social science faculty, and an embarrasing technocracy among the sci-

entific faculty. A number of years ago C.P. Snow described that contrast as the conflict between the two cultures, and whether or not this century will yet see the convergence of those two cultures what is clearly needed is the creation of a new category of Technological Literacy as minimum knowledge required to be a reasonably educated or civilized human being. In fact, never before has the knowledge of machines been such an important condition for the knowledge of being human.

Finally, hardly anywhere in any curriculum, including at the college level, is there a systematic study of key institutions of organized complexity, how the megamachines eat, digest, reproduce and excrete; how they move and grow and expand; how they celebrate and reward and punish; how they psychologically stay sane and handle conflicts and infidelities and divorce, etc. We need to personalize these complex structures so as to make them amenable to some sort of analysis and appreciation, especially for the increasing number of students who may find themselves part of that structural complexity.

I would not identify all these problems or gaps if I did not have some solutions and bridges to propose; and I should like to approach that by saying a word or two about back to basics, especially since I have been a bit sneering about that current obsession.

My judgment is that if all the goals of the Back to Basics movement could be achieved by tomorrow morning (instead of within the next ten to fifteen years) that would still leave the bulk of students seriously unprepared for living the future as I have projected it. But lest you conclude wrongly that I think Back to Basics is one great step backward for mankind, not at all. My criticism is that it is too timid. It stopped short of what it should have advocated--what I call futures basics. My rationale for including these futures-oriented basics as part of Curriculum 2000 is the notion of leap-frogging: while we are catching

up let us also try to leap ahead. What I also wish to make absolutely clear lest what I am about to say will be totally ignored by so-called hard-nosed realists, is that what I am proposing by future basics is implementable without dispossessing or dislodging any substantial portion of the current curriculum. In other words, what I am proposing is an overlay of different kinds of organizing principles over existing content--in short, a series of process disciplines, which are durable, flexible and transferable.

III

The three components of futures basics, frameworks, methodologies and values, are offered as a "package" because, like the trends they have to confront and manage they, too, exist as a reinforcing cluster. Although they are sequenced so as to nest within each other, each on a smaller more intimate scale, they are all equal in importance. Indeed, each component would be not only impoverished but even imperilled if it sought to transcend or privilege itself over the others. Thus, no framework can sustain its holding power if it fails to support and accommodate methodological rigor and values judgments. Nevertheless, frameworks are put first because they dramatize the entire issue of form being in jeopardy.

When things change rapidly and discontinuously, one of the most significant signs of the time being out of joint is that forms--social, political, economic, aesthetic--lose their containing power. Vessels that used to hold water leak like sieves; and official or traditional explanations no longer appear to engage what they purport to define. The current need now and for the foreseeable future is for binders, stitchers, connectors--in short, for what rhetorically is called coherence. Although there are many sources, both old and new, that can be turned to for coherence, I am partial to two that have emerged since World War II and that have about them the promise of futures durability, flexibility and transferability: first, the notion of Systems Dynamics and second, that of behavioral

engineering. When converged they produce a powerful Behavior of Systems or how things work not only in themselves but in interaction and modification with other things.

I value systems dynamics for the number of supports it provides in the quest for coherence. Most obviously, it studies the dynamics, the actual ebb and flow, starts and stops, of all kinds of activities and operations. It also compels an understanding of causes not just symptoms because it invariably involves modeling of how things function or dysfunction. But for our purposes what is most important is that the approach is holistic. Systems analysis courageously leads wherever the system operates and is no obedient respecter of disciplinary boundaries, institutional turf, or formal protocols. Thus, when a missile succeeds or fails at Cape Kennedy, how is responsibility fixed? With the private firm of General Dynamics, with a private university MIT receiving public research funds, with the Pentagon? The fact is that both in concept and operation couplings and relationships are more important than organizational charts if one is genuinely interested in the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The capacity to go behind and beyond institutional facades in order to discover and define the process that binds together public, private, quasi public, quasi private agencies in a holy or unholy alliance in the first place, is essentially what distinguishes the holistic approach of systems dynamics from conventional piece-meal analysis.

The alliance with Skinner to produce the composite frameworks of behavioral systems is sought because behavioral modification adds at least three special dimensions, especially for education. First, it ties systems behavior to human behavior, both individual and group, and thus personalizes and socializes the process of study and outcome. Second, Skinner studies in order to act; he does not care to engage in elaborate theoretical debates about whether children are born basically good or evil; all he asks is that you give him the children. In short,

the study of change is justified by a conscious desire to change--to modify and alter behavior. The Skinnerian addition thus compels the model to be receptive to interventions and goals-infusions. Finally, Skinner assures bilateralism--namely, the awareness that although one is modified by the system one also modifies or can in turn modify the system.

A semester long in-service course would be sufficient to provide the essential grounding in behavioral systems as a frameworking process. What also would be stressed there would be adjustments to scale. Each single inquiry would be scaled so that as one advances the system examined turns out to be partial not whole when repositioned within larger, more inclusive systems. Similarly, the modeling process, which is a rigorous form of structural access, can be designed so that it slides into computer simulation, a procedure that currently enables us to model the digestive process of the stomach, the variables of voter preference, the pollution capacity of 200 miles of the Atlantic Ocean, how and why learning does or does not take place, and eye movements as they scan a painting and dynamically produce another "picture" that portrays the structural cues of the work. Finally, in this connection even the very pure and highly respected Creative Education Foundation of SUNY, Buffalo, now provides as part of its creativity offerings, General Systems Models and Futures.

If the function of frameworks is to generate coherence or miniature wholes, the function of the second component, methodologies, is to structure inquiry and to identify the actors in the system. Both components are designed to function as macrocosm and microcosm, respectively, but to do so in a relationship of equality. The larger framework must not be allowed to trivialize the hard-working methodologies which provide the system with its content; nor obviously should the data-generating process forget the larger reasons why the information is being gathered in the first place. Above all, it is with methodologies that the leap-frogging strategy

applies--the notion of trying to get ahead while catching up--for it is here where the information overload, the rage for numeracy and the increasing creation of megamachines are engaged.

The basic skills of reading, writing and computation have to be supplemented by futures skills that better equip students in a race against information production. Thus, we need to teach not only reading, but also speed reading, memory training, listening skills, recall skills, concentration techniques, etc. We need to teach not only writing, but also note-taking, visual-thinking, outlining, precis, abstraction, epigramming, test-taking and test-design skills. We need to teach not only mathematics, but also budgeting, graphing, statistics, income tax tables, cost-benefits determinations, catastrophe theory, etc. All these basic and future skills prime students as mental athletes and prepare them for more advanced and rigorous methodologies. But such subsequent progress is accompanied by extensive resource experiences which compel every student to become an informationist. Specifically, what have been traditionally designated as library and research skills have to be supplemented or recast into an expanded information resource techniques. A taxonomy of information sources would be compiled, calibrated to minimum--optimum needs by grade level, and would range from books to data retrieval, from audio cassettes to video discs. Equally as important, information systems would be examined--how the census, for example, is assembled; how public opinion is sampled; what economic indicators are used to determine cost-of-living adjustments--and what constitutes clean and dirty data, what are legitimate margins of error, etc. The more advanced methodologies that would follow or accompany these information experiences would include problem-stating and problem-solving techniques, decision-making theory and process and above all anticipatory or forecasting skills. Aside from being rigorous and transferrable in their own right, all these techniques have the special advantage of being explicitly fact-finding and research-oriented. Each methodology thus compels identification of the

comprehensive and precise research and information needs of each problem, decision or forecast under consideration, and thus insures extensive and intelligent use of the information sources noted above.

My transparent partiality to futures as a key methodology is in turn based on an arrogant assumption that if you employ two groups that are essentially equally bright, have same socio-economic mix etc. and have one group study the curriculum as is and another the futures dimensions of that curriculum, the futures group will turn out to be smarter. The rationale for that conclusion is that you cannot forecast what you do not understand; or it is easier to fudge when you do not have to replicate. Adding on or building in a futures dimensions provides the future with access to the present and thus can render naked an ignorant or inadequate base from which to forecast. In fact, research has demonstrated conclusively that a problem-solving methodology which employs both decomposition and a futures dimensions can effectively teach students how to break a problem or data mass down into meaningfully sequenced parts and improve their forecasting ability. One recent piece of research used two groups: one was given the single question, How many packs of Poloroid color film were used in the United States in 1970? The other received the following decomposed version:

1. How many people were living in the U.S. in 1970?
2. What was the average size of the family?
3. What percentage of families owned cameras?
4. Of these, what percentage owned Poloroid cameras?
5. What was the average number of packs of film used per Poloroid camera owner?
6. What percentage of Poloroid film sales were color film?

Decomposition disaggregates the ingredients so that you know what went into the present cake and if you are looking toward the future, what adjustments in amounts you will have to make to make a bigger or smaller cake. (Incidentally, answers to four of the above questions could be found in the World Almanac.)

While I am being this transparent about my future bias, I also should confess that behind my advocacy of the systems and behavioral approach as well as the

skills base to feed into that framework, there has been a subversive aim. You probably have noted that throughout my discussion I have scrupulously avoided mentioning any specific subject areas. The reason is that I am after bigger game: the inter-relationships between subject areas. Most interdisciplinary efforts have failed or been unproductive because the alliances were not preceded by a methodological inventory. That is, the methodologies of the participating disciplines often were not explicitly identified, and as a result, a secret counter-productive force frequently was operating beneath the level of subject matter alignment that compromised the extent and nature of the cross-disciplinary interaction. My judgment is that the systems framework coupled with a number of the methodologies to buttress it, can in fact bridge a number if not all disciplines with a commonality of reference points, terms, and tools that in turn can serve to accommodate the special methodologies used by each of them. Indeed, one of the most important futures direction of education may be the interacting and interfacing of methodologies from multiple disciplines. Only after such a courtship period, would it be proper for interdisciplinary marriages to take place.

While the confessional mantle is upon me let me talk with equal candor about strategy. The predictable indicator that a panacea is about to be delivered is the creation of absolutist pre-conditions. In education, in particular, the halls ring with the cry, "Scrap everything and start afresh." The current system, so the argument continues, is really so compromised or corrupt that nothing can be accomplished trying to work with or within it; what is needed is a blank slate. (Incidentally, the notion of the tabula rasa, like that of the Ivory Tower and objectivity, is a supreme fiction.) Obviously, I have not called for storming of the Bastille for three very good reasons. First, once I decide that I have something to say (and I don't always have something to say), I should like to be listened to, taken seriously and even more hopefully implemented. And I do not think that will happen if I not so gently propose that everything and everyone in

public education disappear. Second, if there is in fact all that rotten wood then what I am urging as an overlay would come down with sufficient weight to cause what is weak to give way. But the third reason is the most important and hopefully redeems my calculating political strategy. If I design and deliver a finished curriculum rather than a curriculum overlay or model then no matter how bright and wise and anticipatory I am, what you will have will be singularly prescriptive and bear all the limitations of the designer. Moreover, there is the double irony of curriculum developers, learning from the fleshing out process, but being denied access to the classroom; juxtaposed with teachers who are in the classroom but denied access to the curriculum development process. Thus, the supreme value always of a curriculum model rather than a developed curriculum is that when it is taken up by many the results will not be singular but multiple, and it will be fleshed and variegated by those closest to the point of implementation, evaluation, monitoring and revision. In short, the capacity for adaptability cannot be offered effectively to students if it is denied to teachers.

The third and last component involves values, and here I have nothing original or unique to add to existing materials on values clarifications, but I would like to call your attention to education as a special values field, a perspective perhaps that has been forgotten or obscured of late.

If there is such a thing in this country as a secular theology which regularly makes pronouncements, I think education might qualify. The reason is not hard to find. When the Secretary of Agriculture is asked to explain the way farm parities work so that farmers are paid to produce less or nothing with the net result that people in the United States like senior citizens who are on a fixed income and can't afford those prices are eating pet food, all the secretary is concerned with is the precision of his description. But a teacher, hopefully of economics, invariably says, "That's terrible!" As long as educators keep saying "That's

terrible!" education can function not only as a significant social critic, but also properly educate its students as future social critics.

One of the most effective ways to make education value-laden or ethically charged is for subject matter to be issue-oriented. Issue-oriented education is frequently polarizing--debatable, arguable perhaps even ultimately uncompro-misable or unresolvable. Aside from stirring the juices, the worth of such exchanges is that values do not sort themselves out into conflicts between right and wrong, but into conflicts between right and right. And those kind of conflicts, which characterize most of the major differences of opinion in a democracy, are the hardest to handle and to solve, and ultimately require a blend of knowledge and judgment which is education's supreme contribution to citizenry.

But there is another equally important reason for advocating issue-oriented education from a values point of view. It is invariably anticipatory. That is, every crisis was originally a problem that was not first identified as an issue. Issue-oriented education can follow the law of escalation as it works an issue up to a problem and then in turn aggravates that up to a crisis. The potential for such a counter-productive progression according to the law of diminishing options directly taps the systems and methodological capacity of futures basics. Moreover, it is linked to the values exercise because escalation of this kind underscores the major failure to examine the consequences of one's actions, including one's inaction. And such a failure, from a future's point of view, is immoral. As such, it enables education to say unequivocally, "That's terrible! And we cannot let it happen. We have to address this issue before it gets out of hand." The moment teachers make that kind of comment, education has engaged the future of the future.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Future of Man (New York, 1964), p. 74.
2. There are probably many significant reasons why we have such diversity of forecasts--steadily increasing pluralism is clearly a major contributory factor--but one reason is particularly pertinent for our focus because it is a futures reason. The diversity of forecasts is probably less a factor of current variety as of future multiplicity or rather simultaneity. Evidently one of the major trends of the future will be the copresence of significant oppositions. There are signs, for example, that there will be a considerable revival of religion but this substantial trend will exist side by side with an equally substantial disbelief in religion altogether. The increase in controls, by government, by economic circumstances, by environmental constraints, will be felt as a major intrusion upon personal mobility, spatiality and freedom; but it also will be accompanied by greater independence in private and leisure life, more freedom to do more of one's own thing more often, etc. Perhaps, two specific items will more than any other clinch the case for simultaneity of opposites. The American Civil Liberty Union, which is committed to the opposition of fascism, is defending the American Nazi Party. The computer which was viewed exclusively as a means by which there would be tremendous increase in centralization of data by government, IRS, banks, etc. has in fact resulted in intense decentralization. With the development of the home computer, the same technology is clearly contributing to greater individuality.
3. The value of adaptability may be supported by taking a leaf from the long page of evolution. Nothing leads more rapidly to extinction or to stultification than genetic uniformity. The key to the future for biological man and woman is maximum genetic variability. Indeed, there is no future for any species without

such genetic diversity. (See the comments of Ernst Mayer in "Toward the Year 2000" Daedalus (Summer, 1967), 677.)

4. One of the unappreciated ironies missed by most humanists about technology is that often when the technology is refined far from dehumanizing individuals, it makes it really possible to treat them as individuals. Thus, data processing has now reached the exquisite delivery point where it is no longer a mass annihilator but an one-on-one caterer. The vision of the electronic town-meeting should not be discounted as mere wizardry. Equipped with a computer console which does not require a course in computer science to operate, individuals in our society could vote on a variety of issues, not just for candidates during election; and if information was needed in order to make an informed choice, that too could be summoned up by library interrogation. The notion that technology, communications or otherwise, is always to be perceived as a controlling probe of the monster state or a money-making tool of the corporate state precludes the crucial recognition that as our size increases, and the numbers of people go up, and complexities are layered, the only way the individual may in fact remain an individual is through technology which has come full circle: now that it has centralized much, it can begin the process of decentralization as well.

5. Simon Wagstaff of Kilgore Trout's Venus on the Half Shell (New York, 1974) has a computer robot, Chworktap, for a lover. She is not programmed either for innocence or mother love, but in spite of those serious omissions, Simon deeply falls in love with his feminine machine:

"You're not a robot, Chworktap, remember that always," he said. "You're a real woman. Maybe the only one I ever met." (186)

6. According to Martin Shubik ("Information Rationality, and Free Choice" in "Towards the Year 2000" ibid., 776), a major source of the complexity in mega-machines of organized complexity is the tremendous growth in the means and measures of economic control dating back to about 1930. National income ac-

counting, input-output tables, gross national income figures, and many other monetary monitoring devices were developed. The private sector not only had to supply this kind of data but develop its own variations because in effect these economic controls constituted the reality of budgeting as well as supply and demand in the country as a whole. Then about ten years ago or by the middle of the sixties in general another wave of accountability and measurement began to surface: the development of statistics and measurements for the services and joint processes of society. The notion of social indicators, social audit, and general social performance undoubtedly arose in response to the shift from a product to a service society, from the incredible growth of government services, bureaucracies and regulations; and from attacks on private corporations as to their social responsibility and conscience. In any case, we are still very much in the throes of developing the proper indicators and measures for this complex and delicate task, but what it has meant for our focus here is the addition of another layer of considerable complexity to the way organizations structure and review their own performance.

Mass Media Values and the Future of Education

By

John D. Pulliam

Fred D. Kierstead

Jim Bowman

...these media virtually extend our psychical environment, providing a constant stream of moving, fleeting images of the world for our daily appraisal. ...Through these devices we can telescope time, move through history and span the world in a great variety of unprecedented ways.

John McHale THE PLASTIC PARTHENON

The Silicon Syndrome: Randomizing Our Synapses

The literature of futures studies is filled with references to the great transition from the industrial era to a period described as post-industrial society, the information age, the era of cyberration, the silicon revolution, and the like. Many futurists say that values appropriate for coping, adjusting, inventing, planning--in a word, living--before the transformation may be inadequate or even counterproductive in the age of mass advertising and information. Roles of older institutions (such as schools and families) involved in the process of learning and socialization are now being subsumed at least in part by the mass media. This raises the question of just how viable and effective attitudes and values advanced by the media may be for survival and optimum realization of the human potential. If children are being programmed to view the world through the prisms of film and television, educators must actively examine the randomization of synapses induced by present mass media utilization.

Because many people concede that the transformation is already in process, timely futures research continues, and at least some of its characteristics are already known. Automation, cybernation, computers, and electronic information systems play major roles today in information processing. Home-based mini-computers and electronic data searches are just now becoming familiar to many Americans, and the mass media have been with us long enough so that many aspects of their impact have been studied and evaluated as well. The question is not how much research has been conducted, but rather what kinds of research. As early as 1965, Charles Steinberg pointed out that while the media have created a social and cultural revolution as far-reaching as the Industrial Revolution of the Nineteenth century, educators have a myopic and distorted view of their effects. Lacking genuinely comprehensive studies on the impact of mass communications, intellectual snobbery and a myriad of unscientific viewpoints abound. Teachers have tended to either ignore public preference for programs or have tried (with variable degrees of success) to apply present programming to classroom learning. Educational theory has concentrated on "schooling" and social forces instead of the transmission of information and values. Future cultural historians will continue to assess the significance of the mass media in terms of their educational and social influence, but the literature today is lacking in adequate treatment on a more comprehensive scale.

There are differences of opinion concerning just what constitutes the mass media and how important each medium may be in socialization and learning. Books and newspapers were obviously more powerful as change agents when they

had no competition from radio, films, or television. As children some of us may recall life changes influenced by radio, because television had not yet been distributed for home use. Historian Robert Sobel's provocative book entitled *THE MANIPULATORS* defines mass media as the press, films, radio, television, and universities. It is Sobel's belief that universities propagandize as much as any other medium. Some of us forget that popular music, science fiction novels, light shows, and closed-circuit television are also media. The word "mass" implies universal distribution and remote production of the media. Some elements such as television and recorded music are as encompassing as the air we breathe.

At present, there is a good deal of interest in the negative characteristics of some of the media, especially television. P.T.A. groups have expressed concern about the sex and violence viewed by children. Educators are in the process of studying the relationship of viewing to reading ability, and the possible effect of the media on decline of ACT scores. It is also interesting to note that one of the major criticisms of the radical futurists is that they have tended to play down the impact of the media. Ivan Illich, Everett Reimer, Arthur Waskow and other advocates of "deschooling," who challenge the "hidden curriculum" of schools, fail to observe that much of that curriculum is carried by the mass media. Educators must abandon critical ignorance and uncritical acceptance of the media in favor of serious study of the way media values permeate the culture and cast the shape of things to come.

Propaganda is no stranger to modern mass communications. In contemporary society, little distinction is made between information and entertainment. It

may be very hard for a child to distinguish between "play death" as seen in a movie for television and the "real death" depicted on the CBS evening news. In the *CULTURE OF NARCISSIMS*, Christopher Lasch makes a strong case against the media for changing the categories of truth and falsehood. He says that no relationship to reality is intended when the idea is to sell or convince. Half truths have been shown more effective than lies in determining what is believable. A personality with great credibility like Walter Cronkite can make almost any statement plausible. Sobel makes the same point by showing how Raymond Burr got hundreds of invitations to address bar associations after only one season as Perry Mason. That Burr was an actor with little legal training was not important, because the illusion he created was so strong. If futurists like Robert Theobald are correct about the vital role of unbiased information for survival, these new canons of conviction may prove critical. How the communications are presented is also important. Government efforts to alter the behavior of citizens or attempts by manufacturers to sell products take into account both the creation of effective messages and the way in which those messages are packaged for delivery to the public. We have become quite familiar with Marshall McLuhan's statement that "the medium is message" (or message).

Significant technological changes are expected to transform and intensify the future of the media. Video discs, cable TV with talkback provisions, home and box office movies and home computers connected to centralized memory banks are already having some impact. For today and the immediate future, however, it is reasonably safe to say that television is the most important medium. It is an invincible force in creating attitudes and a major means of transmitting

the culture to the young. While it may be argued that the media tend to reflect the society more than they influence it, that does not reduce the educational problem. Networks are now using high level consultants to determine how effective television is as an instrument for teaching. Educators must also examine the media and find ways to change or promote the values the media transfer or create.

Studies are inconclusive about how television impacts the lives of young children. Some research shows that commercials set to music first get the attention of infants. It is known that American children view an average of 8,000 hours of television annually between the age of three and five. This includes nearly 100,000 commercials. By the age of fifteen, most children in the United States will have spent more time with the "tube" than in the classroom. Sociologists point out that children in lower socioeconomic families view more television because they have fewer other choices about how to use their time. No large group of children in America, however, is without exposure to television.

Reading experts and early childhood educators are not in agreement on how much television may affect preschoolers, but they agree it is a very potent force. Sesame Street, although it did not fully accomplish what was intended, is highly praised for delivering sound and sight to millions of children every day. The vocabulary of the average youngster has increased dramatically in quantity and sophistication compared to the pre-television period. On entering school, children generally have a much better appreciation of different cultural characteristics and a wider understanding of issues than ever before. Because of the global nature of the media, better concepts of

geography and different patterns of living are also evident. As television continues to carry multicultural messages, it may improve race relations as it offers many models of manners, dress, and deportment.

On the negative side, the wider vocabulary and more diverse exposure are not matched by depth of knowledge. Children know a little about everything, but television has not encouraged them to probe or think deeply. This superficial sophistication takes out the surprise and first impact value teachers once got from introducing new "subjects." Children's television expert Roger Fransecky points out that the children consequently come into the classroom confused. Television makes no demands on them, but teachers expect them to listen and respond on cue. Intelligent students do not always respond well to traditional methods of teaching because they are accustomed to packaged learning with entertainment. Formal learning seems slow and cumbersome to children as teachers are not at all like Big Bird. John Holt points out that a large proportion of the TV generation become psychological dropouts in school by grade three because of the change in demand.

Of course children consume television in different ways. No conclusion of the effect of the mass media is sound without considering factors like age, the home environment and differences in personality. Parents who do what the networks advertise and control what children watch can make a big difference, especially if there is conversation about the programs. Comparisons show that Israeli youngsters watch less television than Americans, but they recall more of what they have seen. Viewing is especially harmful if it replaces reading, talking, play, and imagination in the life of the

child. Television requires no interaction of the kind reading demands and imagination is limited by the myriad of continuous programs. Viewing does little to teach children how to share, cooperate, or play together. Lonely and isolated children may seek models from the tube that are of questionable value. Everyone on television seems to be beautiful and talented. Role models furnished by Charlie's Angels or The Dukes of Hazzard are neither realistic nor necessarily desirable. The Surgeon General has said that while it cannot be shown that violence on television causes violence in people, children with tendencies toward anti-social behavior often imitate the behavior seen on violent shows.

"Public service" messages asking parents to view television shows with their children do not necessarily free the major networks from the responsibility of programming. In these advertisements for credibility the actors state that shows are "not for everybody." But this rationality denies the hypnotic and habit-forming nature of television. Recently, however, CBS has suggested a list of books to be read to further study historical topics presented. In cooperation with the NEA, more and more shows of historical and social importance are being shown during "prime time." Although this trend is gratifying, these kinds of productions are few and far between, and constitute less than ten percent of normal programming.

Packaged Values: McLuhan's Unwritten Message (or Message)

Those concerns which have been expressed are significant, but they are not the most fundamental problems of the media age. Even more crucial is the overall impact of the media in supporting materialism, hedonism, keeping up with the Fonzies, and unchecked consumption of scarce resources. The mass

media is dominated by commercial interests to the extent that future alternatives are very limited unless they call for growth and a continuation of what Veblen called "conspicuous consumption." In *TOOLS FOR CONVIVIALITY*, Illich argues that the human equilibrium is open and able to change to whatever lifestyle might be desirable in a future convival society. It is the economic and industrial system which is organized for indefinite expansion and the creation of new "needs" (which quickly become necessities). It follows that any alteration of the system that might enhance future survival depends on some public influence over the media, to include advertising.

Canadian communications theorist Marshall McLuhan has treated aspects of the mass media in books such as *THE GUTENBERG GALAXY*, *UNDERSTANDING MEDIA*, and *THE MEDIUM IS THE MESSAGE*. His concepts are praised by some and condemned by others, but they should not be ignored. McLuhan forces us to rethink the entire process of earning a living in the era of cybernation and electronic systems of information. He suggests that infatuation with television and the electronic age itself may be responsible for much of the apathy, rebellion, and lack of motivation currently reported in school classrooms. His concern with the impact of shared experiences (such as watching American astronauts land on the surface of the moon) gave rise to his provocative concept of the "global village."

McLuhan attacks the public school curriculum for its fragmented character and its lack of depth. Schools lead to specialization and research but not to unifying principles that might help us cope with emergent or anticipated problems of future living. He believes that intense specialization is an industrial era need, oriented to a set of life conditions now past:

In education the conventional division of the curriculum is already as outdated as the medieval trivium and quadrivium after the Renaissance. Any subject taken in depth at once relates to other subjects. ...Continued in their present patterns of fragmented unrelation, our school curricula will insure a citizenry unable to understand the cybernated world in which they live.

(UNDERSTANDING MEDIA, p. 268)

A call for general (as opposed to specialized) education and a need for order and clarity in the curriculum is common in educational theory, spanning the thought of such divergent educational philosophers as John Dewey and Robert Hutchins. But McLuhan believes that the media themselves may be used to combat the stagnation of the schools in an age of accelerating change. Futurists like George Leonard and E.F. Schumacher are very much interested in ways of producing a world view not limited by institutions like schools or powerful industrial corporations. In *SLAUGHTERHOUSE-FIVE*, Kurt Vonnegut once remarked that events from different times can now be viewed all at one time. McLuhan takes this position too when he says that the mass media make all civilizations contemporary with our own. He believes that the world is now revealed through the mass media like a growing plant in an enormously accelerated time-lapse film, making it possible for people to perceive possible casual connections and relationships as never before. Synergetic and symbiotic associations, vital to ecology and human well being, could be taught by mass media if they were used for that purpose. Under the control of present day economic and advertising interests, archaic industrial values threaten to destroy the very basis upon which a better future might be built. It follows that people must gain control over the mass media to insure survival and to invent a human future.

McLuhan believes that markets and education designed to cope with the products of mechanical production and labor are no longer adequate. In order to maintain growth and profits, modern manufacturers have educated the people in the culture of consumption. Production of commodities in ever increasing numbers requires an ever larger market to absorb them. With no public control over the media, advertising serves not only to sell products but to promote the consumption of goods and services as a way of life. Surely some counterweight to this potent force is needed in an age of impending energy decline and the depletion of vital natural resources.

John McHale's work calls attention to the failure of the intellectual establishment to understand and use the mass media of communication. He sees a new planetary culture, the chief characteristics of which are accelerating industrial technology, automation, and a multiplicity of new communication channels to accommodate vastly expanding levels of information. This new culture is as different from the old as a wheeled cart is different from Gemini or Vostok. McHale is optimistic about the ability of human beings to cope with and control technological change, but only if they can gain basic understanding of the forces which shape their world. He agrees with McLuhan that when the image on the tube replaces the printed word on paper, there may be a withering away of abstract thought and a replacement of logic with emotion. As the adage dictates, a picture may be worth a thousand words, but the words become specific and descriptive rather than creative. Standardization of taste and uniformity in mass culture do not concern McHale. Uniform culture was the primitive enclave of pre-industrial society with limited forms and life styles. As human consciousness is expanded electronically to global

interlinkage, people may experience more in a single life-span than ever before. We now face the possibility of several "generations" within one lifetime as the Vietnam, Watergate, Koreagate, Iran-gate (as opposed to Iron Curtain), and Pepsi generations compress time. With mass production but selective consumption, the either/or dichotomy no longer applies. We can enjoy both classical and popular music.

Essentially, McHale believes that world communications, (Telstar, the press, radio, television, cinema, and computer directed techniques of automation) create a common cultural environment on a global scale and goods such as processed foods, jet aircraft and transistor radios, produced and distributed by mass means, provide common artifacts for world-wide consumption. These artifacts may be just as important as change agents as books, plays or broadcasts.

McHale further argues that traditional canons of evaluation are poor guides for an emergency mass culture. These canons place great value on uniqueness, permanence and enduring social judgments like "truth is beauty." This is very much like applying the forms of Plato as a criterion for judging the film Star Wars, the TV drama Soap, or even styrofoam cups! Needed is a clear distinction between value criteria for human life and that used to judge rapidly changing technology. Otherwise, to paraphrase Illich, there will be a further increase of useful objects for useless people. Lasch argues that modern humanity, feeling that the world is no longer intelligible and that it is out of control, has turned attention inward. The narcissistic personality is concerned with "making it now." Lasch's conception of the desired model has shifted from Horatio Alger to the Happy Hooker. The narcissist has

little interest in the future because he has no interest in the past. Unable to place itself in history or to live vicariously through others, the "now" generation can neither plan nor control--just live.

Of course there is great danger that people will give up any effort to invent the future and adopt the attitude that "whatever will be will be." We have very few critical precedents with which to evaluate our present culture. The ethical norms reflected on television today represent "cultural decline" to many Americans. The "failure of nerve" (which implies that human action can make no difference and thus promotes a culture of narcissism) is a very dangerous trend for the future. But as the ancient Chinese were fond of pointing out, precarious situations often provide opportunity. Some economists argue that the scarcity and uniqueness of irreplaceable objects in the past made artifacts more significant than human beings. Objects acquired value as the basis of wealth and were regarded as necessary to survival while humans were expendable. At present, mass production and mass media cannot be separated. The unique input of human intelligence is needed.

Social Invention

There are abundant technological innovations in medicine, communications, agriculture, et. cetera, but there are very few organizations involved in social innovation. The media has established itself as one of the few vehicles of social innovation in the world. It influences appearance (clothing, hair styles), language, family (marriage, divorce, child-care), politics, health (food, exercise), religion and status (to mention only a few areas of impact). This is all accomplished under the pretense of entertainment (as distinguished from education) and a demand-supply theory which assumes that the public gets

what it wants. The media, therefore, retains little responsibility for its product. This is a subtle form of education (change) which is not acknowledgeably accountable for its entertainment (education) which even has the appearance of being random.

As with education, everyone has an opinion about what is fair and foul with the media. It appears that local communities can--and do--implement their opinions in the schools. This is exemplified best by what is not allowed in schools. Teachers are not usually permitted to address philosophic domains such as "purpose of life" or "proper values." Teachers rarely trespass upon "sex"--as an academic consideration. Local communities, however, do not appear to have as much influence upon the media as they do with schools. Sex is a major ingredient for news and prime time television programming. The result is that sex sells products. Sex also sells sex (the message is the message).

The educational literature is abundant with various proposals for sex education, violence education, children-effectiveness-training, reality awareness, and values clarification. These "help me make it through the night" proposals illustrate two absurdities. First, many people are naive about innovation. Educational innovations, on a national scale, require a time period of 15 to 40 years. Secondly, educational institutions do not perceive of themselves as places for creation or analysis of social innovation. Educational institutions are not prepared to examine social invention because the inventions cannot be a "subject" of analysis until they are no longer taboo or no longer controversial. During the 1960's, school districts throughout the country slowly changed their standards on hair and dress codes.

They had no process for defending or refuting these social inventions of the media. In most cases, the educational institutions did not even see the "enemy."

Educational institutions do not need slippery innovations. They do need a process for the analysis and creation of social innovations. Other social institutions have failed because they hold their clients responsible for their failures without providing constructive avenues for change. Witness the prison system which is designed to punish rather than invent. Witness the welfare system which does little more than confirm failures and blame the unemployed for their unemployability. Schools should not blame their clients for values taught through a more powerful socializing (and social inventing) structure--the media. Educators can become change-agents and help their clients to reconstruct their views of the world. This is a comprehensive proposal for the development of another source of social invention--the school. Educators are the least biased, most academically prepared sources for providing a check and balance on invention through the media. In *THE FAR SIDE OF THE FUTURE*, it was suggested that the introduction of "futures studies" into educational organization and curricula provides a broad-based, interdisciplinary process for analyzing and creating change. This is needed as it relates to the media as well as other agencies involved in technological invention.

Parting Comments

As with any serious problem of the present and the future, it is easier to identify the issues than to find solutions. These authors offer a set of brief comments or notes that might lead toward a more comprehensive treatment

of the role of the mass media in educational futures. They are not designed as corollaries, but rather as guideposts for conscious self-determination.

1. The authors agree with McHale and McLuhan that humanity must now become gatherers of knowledge on the broadest scale. Just as a single set of skills is not sufficient for a modern lifetime, commercial values or norms taken from the majority of entertainment programs do not make a valid basis for planning the future. Understanding the many facets of a complex world requires interdisciplinary scholarship, critical viewing, and new criteria of values. In his book *THE IMAGE*, Kenneth Boulding suggests a new science, Ikonics, which is intended to restructure all that is known about human behavior into one organic whole. Such a science might deal with the differences between use value and symbolic value of tools and technology as suggested in McHale's "The Plastic Parthenon."

2. Surveys show that people do not read what they say they read nor view what they say they would like to view. Intellectuals even lie about how much television they view because they recognize its anti-intellectual character. We must now make serious studies of the mass media and gather real data about their impact. Speculation must be replaced with information and sound theory.

3. Because the mass media constitute a major institution of modern society as well as a significant part of education and socialization, they must not be allowed to remain entirely under the control of a handful of executives and commercial interests. Educators and the general public must find ways to influence all media as they do public television.

4. Materialism, hedonism, conspicuous consumption, waste of vital resources, and values geared to past industrial society must be reexamined. Because of the vast power of the mass media, our best hope to alter society in the direction of more positive futures lies in changing the messages of media.

5. Because formal education is so labor-intensive, and is, therefore, expensive, there is a strong possibility that overriding external pressures to make it more "efficient" and "productive" for the money expended will dominate. Already there is evidence that educational institutions are losing buying power (in the form of teacher's salaries and new faculty) due to rampant inflation. Private industry has spent far more on research using computers and other media to educate their employees than the public sector. This scenario is disconcerting to many educators, but to ignore the possibility of more extensive media use in public and private education would condemn us to a media world in our own back yard in which we had no input.

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INTRODUCTION - Foxfire 6

by Eliot Wigginton

I constantly find myself in awkward situations. Among the most uncomfortable are those when, in a moment of weakness, I have accepted an invitation to work as a consultant for a day or two in a public school. Being prone to moments of weakness, this happens several times a year. Suddenly there I am again, standing in front of a group of teachers who have every reason to expect me to tell them that either they are doing something wrong, or they should be doing something else in addition to the heavy load they're already carrying; else why would I be there? And this, given the fact that I have never seen any of them at work with their students and have no idea how they operate or what daily problems they face. You see why it's an awkward situation...

Such visits have given me the chance, however, to see first hand a number of other public schools besides the one in which I teach. They've helped me grow. Sometimes I've developed friendships with colleagues in those schools that have lasted. And always we trade notes - which of us has the better principal or lunch room or working conditions - and combat stories.

Sometimes, on these visits, I'm asked for advice. I usually refuse simply because I don't know the situation well enough (and wouldn't if I stayed a month). But recently, over coffee, a new friend and I sat down and half in jest, half seriously, posed the following:

Accept for the moment the fact that because there are too many variables at work, public schools will never be perfect learning environments. Accept also the fact that despite all the voices raised against them, and despite all the financial chaos, they are here to stay.

Now draw up a list of observations or principles or truths - say five or six - that could be used as a yardstick to measure how any given public school is doing, or how far it has to go, given the potentials and limitations that exist within that institutional framework.

We drew up the list.

Over the next few months, as I became more and more convinced it was a workable notion - this idea of a checklist - I refined it, and I present it here, realizing with some embarrassment that most of these principles are old truths "rediscovered" again and again, but realizing also that despite that fact, most schools still have a long way to go toward implementing them, and so they bear repeating again and again. The 950-pupil consolidated public high school in

which I teach, for example, has not, and undoubtedly will not, move wholesale to translate a list like this into action. None of the schools in which I have visited have either. I guess that's to be expected. After fourteen years of continuous, daily trial-and-error and observation inside the public school system, however, I know, at this point in my career, that these principles can be implemented in that system, and I believe that the extent to which they have been recognized and acted upon by any public school is the extent to which that institution is becoming truly and sensitively responsive to the needs of the students and the communities it serves.

First: every detail in the physical environment of a school, no matter how small, matters and contributes in a cumulative way to the overall tone.

Some of these details are so minor that the ordinary observer would not even notice them, but in their own small way, each makes a difference that can lead to a sense of, "Something's right (or wrong) here, even though I don't know what it is".

I taught an experimental course recently with five students enrolled. Because there were no classrooms available

during that period, we "floated" from day to day from one available space to another. One of the rooms we used from time to time was a small windowless conference room that was almost womb-like in its isolation from the rest of the school environment. Every time those students and I were in that room, their behavior was significantly different from their norm. It was almost as though they were lobotomized. Only through great effort were we able to break through that listless, unemotional trance and carry on some form of discussion. In a different environment - one with windows and space and air - they were completely different people. We all recognized the effect the conference room had on us, but none of us was able to pinpoint exactly what was happening there. Something to do with the combination of colors, windowless walls, isolation and the incessant buzzing of the fluorescent lighting transformed us all in a noticeable way. Had I been assigned to that space for the entire quarter and not been able to observe those same five students in different environments, I might have assumed that both the course and the students were lost causes - an experiment not worth repeating. How many other teachers struggle with students daily and assume the problems they are having are due to the students, or themselves, and forget the impact of environment on behavior?

On a more obvious level, classrooms with desks (often covered with graffiti) bolted to the floor, bathrooms with doorless stalls, shared locker spaces, indifferent food served indifferently, racacious bell systems, intercoms used so inconsiderately that every activity in the school is shattered by full-volume announcements like, "Teachers, pardon the interruption, but Susan Jones' mother is here to take her to a dentist appointment"; all taking place within fortress-like institutional structures with endless cement block halls and bulldozed, paved surroundings devoted more to efficient crowd control and total lack of privacy (read "trouble") than anything else - all such elements conspire to create an atmosphere that is alien, dehumanizing, intimidating, and filled with an undercurrent of frustration.

In one high school I visited recently, the signal to change classes was a deafening air-raid siren. In our own school, it is a long piercing whine that is impossible to talk above and that goes through one's head with an intensity that almost translates into physical pain. Why any manufacturer would be instructed, or allowed, to create such a device, and why any humane architect would patronize such a company, is beyond me (especially considering the fact that it's not really needed at all. How many colleges or

universities, for example, can you name that use a bell system.

Sometimes the physical environment so conspires against certain kinds of activities that they are simply eliminated from the life of the school, and their absence, though felt at first, is accepted by the new generations of students who have known no other options and who go through school with a vague sense that, "Not much happens here except classes". I am talking specifically (though there are many other examples) about that terrible notion that someone came up with that a gym and/or cafeteria should also double as an auditorium. Our organization has actively sponsored concerts and plays in our brand-new gym/auditorium complex, and we are about to give up in despair, not because the students don't enjoy such events, but because the space itself is simply not a workable combination for more reasons that I could list here, foremost among them being impossible acoustics, demonic seating arrangements, and resistance on the part of the coaches to having their gym used as anything other than a gym.

Despite the fact that the buildings are built, and many of them are bad, there are plenty of solutions available once the problems with them are realized. The possibility of solutions, however, must be seen as a series of

priceless opportunities to bring the second principle into play.

Second: students must be allowed a measure of control over that environment, and a degree of decision-making responsibility within it. Ignored, a natural and healthy tendency students have to exert some influence over their surroundings manifests itself in ways the teachers and administrators find unacceptable, and so they burn much of their energy in pitched battles with students over "classroom management" and in sleuthing out those responsible for vandalism and litter. The amount of "anti-social" behavior in a school is often directly proportional to the amount of hostility students feel toward an institution that is not responding to their needs as human beings.

The most obvious place to begin is at the classroom level. Here, in most high schools, the norm, except for the blackboard and bulletin board, is totally blank walls and bland colors. (Walk into the only environment a child can call his or her own - usually a bedroom at home - and compare. If a child of mine actually preferred an environment with no color, nothing on the walls, no piles of books and posters and baseball gloves and projects in progress, I would view that as cause for some alarm.)

At this classroom level, confronted with a teacher who maintains a filing cabinet full of laminated and dated bulletin board displays ("This one about commas goes up at Halloween each year."), we may have a problem. Such a teacher may already have settled into a psychological rut that has, by now, manifested itself in lecture notes used year after year, for example, and it may be too late.

But if it's not, some wonderful and appropriate things can happen. In our classroom, when students wanted to fill the walls with photographs, letters, documents, county maps and quilts - all items appropriate to our work - they were given permission by the principal as long as they did not stick anything to or mount anything on the walls that might damage the paint. Undaunted, they eased up several of the suspended ceiling's tiles, hung long wooden dowel rods from wires they attached to the steel girders above, replaced the tiles undamaged, and hung the quilts and display panels from the rods. The walls remain unscarred.

Later, needing additional work and storage and display spaces, they designed and built other pieces of classroom furniture such as cabinets, shelves and counters, and

set them into place. The ones not used as work spaces are now covered with pieces of folk art, tools, items that contacts have made for us, and supplies.

Most recently, deciding that the microscopic darkroom the school's architect had designed was unworkable, they designed and built a new darkroom inside our classroom with the help of the school custodian who jury-rigged the necessary plumbing. The only requirement placed on the students by the principal and school board was that the new room conform in every way to the existing fire codes, thus giving students an opportunity to deal with yet another challenge. The outside walls of the darkroom are covered, floor to ceiling, with four by eight foot sheets of bulletin board material thus tripling our space for exhibits of students' photographs and the like. While some classrooms nearby have sustained some heavy damage from random student vandalism, ours has suffered not at all. And the room is ablaze with color and life and energy, and has become a working environment that accurately reflects the amount of energy and commitment that is expended there.

Beyond the classroom, students in our school have gotten permission to create at least one new mural a year to paint onto the blank walls in the commons and entrance areas. The principal was a little dubious about the first mural

until we talked a professional artist into helping out and promised the principal final approval of the design. Three are completed now, one measuring eighteen by twenty-two feet, and another is underway in a series of low-cost, creative efforts that can go on for years, will involve hundreds of students over those years, and will totally change the tone of those bland, impersonal spaces.

In a large urban school I visited recently, students in the horticulture and biology classes had voted to "adopt" a large outdoor gathering area as part of their classroom work. There they created a jewel of a park with gravel walks, wooden benches, and huge planters which they keep filled with potted flowering plants, rotating them in season. On the fall day I was there, thousands of chrysanthemums of all colors were just about to burst into bloom.

In another school, as part of the curriculum, students in the home economics classes work with the dietician and the teacher to create the school's menus, and then rotate for a week at a time through the kitchen to help prepare and serve those meals and make them as attractive and palatable as possible given their imaginations, the budget they have to work with, and other institutional restrictions, many of which they have found ways around.

Being allowed to have a constructive impact on their surroundings in ways like the above is important, but it is not nearly enough. Students must also be entrusted with the power to make real decisions that affect far more than the physical environment.

In my magazine classes, for example, out of which this book came, the students decide individually all details concerning their own articles (for which they do all the interviews, take and print all the photographs, etc.), and collectively decide such items as what the magazine's cover design and colors will be - seemingly mundane decisions, but for students who have never had experience in making such choices, enormously important. These experiences become part of their normal English curriculum and part of their daily routine. The same pattern is followed in the other classes we sponsor where students produce record albums, radio shows, television shows, active and passive solar collectors, and public exhibitions of photography - decisions that affect not only the final product, but also such things as the specific budgets those classes will operate under given the financial resources available to us at any given time.

On the organizational level, I and my staff meet early every Monday morning to look at our organization. Sometimes

we talk about specific students and strategies for meeting their needs. We also line out all things that need to be decided that week. Students are encouraged to attend the meeting.

Then that same day, each period, the various Foxfire classes come together in one room to discuss each issue and vote. The votes are carried forward, cumulatively, through the school day. At the end of the day, the votes determine the decision. Those students who want to be involved in carrying it out begin to do so.

In a recent week, for example, among other things, students discussed and voted on:

- the disposition of an automobile our organization was given. (They voted to sell it through sealed bids and split the profits between the school's beautification fund and Foxfire's scholarship fund. Students split up into teams to draft the radio and newspaper announcements. The car was sold and the money deposited in the funds the students had dictated.)

- our response to a weekly regional newspaper that had reprinted material and photographs from The Foxfire Book on its front page without permission and without credit to the source in any form. (The students voted to draft a letter

to the publisher demanding an apology in print in the next edition of the paper. The letter was drafted by one of the classes and sent, and the apology appeared on the paper's front page. A subscriber to our magazine who brought the matter to our attention was thanked by another team of students.)

- our response to a T-shirt manufacturer who had taken photographs of some of our contacts directly from the pages of our books and reprinted them on a line of T-shirts he was distributing throughout the region. (The students voted to sue the manufacturer and are now involved in the suit.)

The general rule of thumb we use, and one which will probably evolve in time as we get better and more self-confident ourselves at this whole business is to turn over to the students all decisions concerning our organization that they themselves can be responsible for and implement to completion. This they do in an atmosphere where they learn to weigh the possible consequences of such decisions for themselves and the organization, and where mistakes that are made are accepted as new opportunities to learn - not as opportunities to condemn the students who made them.

There are parallels here than can be extended to any school as a whole. Each day, in every school in the nation, scores of decisions are made by the principal and assistant principal that affect the movements and activities of students within. Often, these decisions are made by adults not because they refuse to believe students could make them just as well, but because it is so much more expedient to make them themselves. And they're right. But one of our mandates is to help students learn to make responsible choices, and the fact is that schools, as microcosms of society, can be perfect learning laboratories for building these skills. It is all somewhat more inconvenient, but schools built for the convenience of the adults within are often schools where little learning takes place.

I must be clear here and state that I am not advocating - as in some alternative schools - that students make all decisions, including such things as whether or not a teacher should be fired. That would place an impossibly heavy load on students' shoulders. Nor am I advocating the situation where students are allowed to make token, sham decisions of no consequence as a means of tricking them into believing they have some "say" in order to help keep them under control.

I am advocating real responsibility of the best type that is possible within a normal public school which is, granted, a controlled situation where adults will always be "in charge", but where they can also be regarded by their students as allies and mentors and guides rather than the opposite.

How would the process work? Some schools have experimented creatively and well with the idea of student councils. A problem, of course, is that many student councils are not regarded as truly representative of or responsible to their classmates, and so elections degenerate into popularity contests and knowing this, schools respond by diluting the responsibilities they have to the point where the whole situation becomes even more of a joke. The members are allowed to plan the junior-senior dance, but little else.

A better, and certainly more lively and instructive and interesting system, would be for each homeroom to elect, on a rotating basis, a representative who would attend the weekly teachers' meetings. Substitutes could take the place of representatives who could not make a given meeting due to illness or other such conflicts. At these meetings, in addition to normal business (and, frankly, I can't think of a meeting I've been to in recent memory where something was

discussed that students should not be allowed to hear, but they could always be excused if such matters arose), the principal and assistant principal would outline those items that needed student body action. The students in attendance would ask as many questions as necessary to make sure they could present all the facts and ramifications to their homerooms as accurately as possible. Then, during homeroom periods each morning, the student representatives would present the issues one by one, lead the discussions, and take the vote. The homeroom teachers would be there to help students over snags. Votes from the homerooms would all be tallied by student groups as they were reported, and decisions, as completed, would be carried to the front office for announcement and implementation. The student newspaper would regularly report all tallies, along with needed clarifications and explanations.

What decisions would they make? An enlightened principal could easily get an idea by simply listing for one week all decisions made that week at the administrative level, and then looking at it. Much of it would consist of business concerning pep rallies, club meetings, test schedules, lunch schedules, disciplinary restrictions, smoking area regulations and the like, all of which lend themselves easily to student

input. That's where they'd start. And what about decisions such as whether or not to use a bell system at all? Or the extent to which classes could be interrupted by such intrusions as intercom announcements? Those too should be subject to student input. And as the process became established, students themselves would begin to identify other areas that would justify student choice. In fact, once a certain public school mind set is overcome, it becomes increasingly difficult to identify issues and decisions the students should not be directly involved in. Excuses for not involving them even in matters as serious as strategies for dealing with teenage pregnancy or alcohol and drug abuse begin to sound hollow and defensive.

For the fact is that students in possession of accurate information are far more skillful and responsible and creative and moral in making and carrying out decisions than most adults are willing to admit. Schools trying all this for the first time sometimes give up in frustration out of a feeling that the students aren't being responsible enough - that the students are "playing with them." They give up too easily. Invariably, these are schools where, usually for good reason, the students refuse to believe their collective voice is going to be taken seriously. They are playing with the school because they feel the school is, once

again, playing with them. It takes time and patience - a slow forging of traditionally atypical alliances between young people and adults - and it's worth every ounce of energy it takes.

Third, all courses, to the fullest extent possible, should be experiential - rooted in the real. (At this point, every teacher who's forgotten should review Dale's Cone of Experience in that dusty educational philosophy text.)

A friend of mine has a young son who just completed a ninth-grade unit in botany as part of his science requirement. Not once did the class go outdoors. Not once did the teacher bring plant materials in. The entire course was taught from a text, undoubtedly without passion or conviction. The fact that any teacher in 1980, given all we know about education, would be allowed to - or even choose to - teach a unit like botany in that fashion is grounds for parent/student revolt.

Teachers must constantly ask themselves how material they are covering can be brought to life and application in the real world for the benefit of the students involved, and the ultimate benefit of the larger society they will enter. If they cannot, or will not, make those linkages, the course should probably not be taught at all.

Let me give one example.

One of my favorite students brought an American history text along during a recent trip to speak at an educational conference. He was studying for a test. One of the sections he had to memorize concerned Spanish monestaries that were set up during an early period in our history for the purpose of bringing Indians to Christianity and to the Spanish way of life and to loyalty to the Crown. Now, the course over, that student tells me that he remembers nothing of that section of the book. He remembers only the motel room in which he studied it. Missed completely by the teacher was a priceless opportunity to open up that piece of history and bring it to life through numerous real-world linkages that the students could have researched first-hand: the implicit arrogance, for example, of the missionary's calling, and the moral dilemma that must be posed by the imposition of one value system on another; to say nothing of the work of all agents of cultural change at work on that student's family, community, and throughout the Appalachian region yesterday and today; and the real, sometimes positive, sometimes negative effect such people and organizations have on any indigenous group of people anywhere. Weeks could easily have been spent following that aspect of our history

and the fact that many of the events of the past have resulted from the desire of individuals or groups to exert dominance or influence over others. It has gone on throughout the past, it is going on today (students can witness that process in any peer group and community in this nation, and by extension come to a more focused understanding even of national and world affairs), and it will continue through all the tomorrows we have left.

And how will that student of mine deal with that fact as an adult? When confronted by injustice, for example, where will he draw his lines? To what extent will he shrug his shoulders and rationalize events and turn away, or stand for what he knows is a more moral and humane course of action in the world? He came no closer to a decision of any sort in that history course - in fact, he never saw how the material his class was covering applied to him at all - but he should have. Else why take history?

It has been shown through projects all over this country that experiential components can be built into every subject area of the curriculum, not in place of the academic aspects of the course or the basic skills, but as one of the few ways through which students master those skills and internalize them through having the chance to put them to work.

The production of this book as a part of the language arts offering at our school is only one small illustration of the kinds of low-cost, experiential options available to public schools today.

Alarm at declining test scores and student competence is one of the reasons why some alternative schools are founded. Some I am familiar with turn their backs on what we know about the potential of experience, however, and try to correct the situation (as do many public high schools) by "bearing down" and increasing the amount and the intensity of drill and memorization. Demanding academic rigor is justifiable, but reaching for it through numerous new kits and packages and drills and tests usually defeats the purpose, creating, instead, students who simply respond more quickly to certain stimuli, like Pavlov's dogs, but know not a whit more about the world outside the school, the use of those skills within it, or learning as an independent and life-long passion. What we too often get for our money is a better class of robots.

Think of the role of the school as being three-fold (leaving aside the role of sports):

- to develop the basic skills and basic academic knowledge of students

- to develop and nourish the more esoteric appreciations and understanding - the arts, the humanities, the areas of human artistic and moral sensitivity and concern for life on this globe, and the ways to express those appreciations and concerns through action

- to develop and foster the qualities students must have for success in any career - curiosity, self-confidence and self-esteem, patience and persistence, vision, leadership, wisdom, the ability to think creatively and to analyze and problem solve and make humane and wise decisions and act on them.

Now look at your school. If it's like most in this country, it pays only minimal attention to the latter two (it can be successfully argued, in fact, that many schools not only do not nourish the last two areas, but somehow accomplish the opposite with the majority of their students), and reserves most of its energy for the first. The success ratio? Look at the fact that students have language arts for twelve years in most public high school systems. Now ask any college or university why it still has its freshman English courses.

"Bearing down" with increased drill and memorization has not and will not solve this problem satisfactorily, to say nothing of the fact that at least two other vital areas

of a student's development go untouched. The best experiential courses, on the other hand, are not only consciously interdisciplinary, but bring all three areas of development into complete concert.

Fourth: The school and the community should be as one. Far more than simply using the community as a laboratory, or allowing the school facilities to be used by the community in the evenings and during vacations, students and teachers must be engaged directly with the community at large forging two-way relationships that not only educate, but endure and make a difference in the quality of life. One of the most distressing facts I encounter in every school I work with is how ignorant teachers are of the community from which their students are drawn. They can sometimes recite some basic historical facts and figures and the results of some government surveys, but they know few people on a first-name basis.

This fall, for example, one of my students and I worked for several days as consultants to an urban high school in a decaying city where a group of teachers was interested in talking about and perhaps implementing some of the things we have tried here. After working with them and their classes for a day, their consensus was that nothing we had talked about would work in their setting. For one

thing, there wasn't anything good about the surrounding community to celebrate, and everyone who lived there was dreaming of the day when he or she could move away. In the second place, there was so much hostility and anger and fear that adults would be afraid to talk with students, and the students would be too fearful of their own safety to explore.

Believing that in a situation like that, there is more need than ever to attend to this particular principle, I suggested we try an interview anyway. None of the teachers or students could think of a soul who would be willing to come into the school, and so a school librarian who had lived there all her life was invited. Since none of the teachers could demonstrate interviewing techniques to their students, I spent several hours training a volunteer group of about twenty, stressing that if anything else were to be done along these lines, members of that group would have to be the teachers.

At the appointed time, the librarian arrived, apprehensive and a little stiff ("I can't stay long; I'm very busy.") and the students arranged themselves in a semicircle around her and went to work. The teachers stayed in the background and observed. After about fifteen minutes, I could feel the mood changing as the woman relaxed and the prearranged questions of the students began to drop away

and be replaced by amazed, genuine inquiries. She talked about such things as the goats she had raised as a child in the pasture where the city-block-huge school now stood, for example, and how the gradual influx of new racial and age populations had begun to polarize and fragment what had been a cohesive community. The students were fascinated as they began to see her as a completely different human being from the one they had only known previously in her professional role.

After forty-five minutes, the pace had now slowed a bit, but since the bell was about to ring, I interrupted to ask the librarian, with the students present, how she thought things had gone. She admitted honestly that she was amazed at the quality and obvious sincerity of the students' questions. She had expected something completely different, had come prepared to dislike the experience, and in fact had not had enough time to get into numerous other areas she would have enjoyed sharing. When I asked if she knew other people in the community who would be willing to undergo the same thing, she said there were many. The students and teachers who were listening were amazed and elated at how things had turned out, and if nothing else comes of that experience at that school, all of us together at least had an opportunity to share a very nice moment together. I

won't soon forget it.

And if nothing else comes of that experiment, I think that would be too bad. There may be other ways to deal with the kinds of hostilities and suspicions and hatreds that exist in that area, but I don't know offhand of a better way than getting people talking together face to face, beginning to know each other for the first time, beginning to correct misconceptions and prejudices about each other, and beginning to explore together the reasons why the community is in a siege mentality now, and the strategies available for turning that around. It's hard to think of a more perfect setting for what could be one of the most fascinating and valuable high school courses ever, set up to explore what conditions must exist for people to be able to live and work productively and positively together. It would take patience and time to implement, but the alternative, I imagine, is to leave all the barricades standing.

Students are basically moral - quick to recognize injustice and prejudice - and, in the proper atmosphere, challenge it. With their peer group, they sometimes make a great show about hearing this group or race or that, but for most young people, those statements have not yet hardened into adult convictions.

Better still, once moved, they are willing to take action for what they believe is right. A student and I worked as consultants in a midwestern high school for a time, and we discovered, within easy walking distance of the school, an historic feed mill still in operation that was about to be torn down as it was in the path of a new highway project. The local students I was working with had never done interviews in the community before (despite the fact that they were enrolled in a local history course), and so we started with the mill. One of the former owners told us its history while the students tape recorded and took black and white photographs and color slides - all for the first time. Then the new owner described the battle he was waging with the highway department, and why he had decided to take a stand against all odds, and he showed us the petitions he was circulating in the city.

As we left, the students wanted to sign one of the petitions, but their local history teacher, who had been along observing, refused to let them. Her fear was that school board members might favor the highway project, and she was afraid of repercussions. We left, the students visibly disappointed, and the teacher, I believe, regretful and feeling a little guilty. Such are school politics.

The next day, on the way to the airport, I asked our driver to stop by the mill so that my student and I, at least, could sign one of the petitions. We went in and I asked for one, and the owner apologized saying that he hadn't had a chance to have new ones printed yet, but they were ordered. I asked what had happened to the stack of blank ones he had had the day before. "Well, you know those kids that were in here with you?" he asked. "When school let out, they came back with their friends and took every blank one I had. They said they were going to get them all signed and bring them back."

It is too much to expect that students will get the stimulation and self-confidence and training and commitment they will need to get directly involved in community affairs as adults if their only contact with that sort of action is through a civics text. They must be immersed in the realities as students.

Last spring, Sherrod Reynolds, one of my staff members, and I taught an experimental course designed to test strategies for and reactions to this immersion. We tried it with five students, but it could have been a full class.

We decided to work with Mountain City, Georgia, a town in our county with a population of about 600, and a town that has done little discussion about or planning for the future. Incorporated in 1903, the residents had never had a

town meeting. With the cooperation of the mayor and city council, we began to work toward having one.

Each of the students chose a nearby town, out of our county, but of similar size. Alone, each made appointments to talk with their town's officials, conducted a series of taped interviews, and took a series of color slides of important features. Then they put together a slide show and script that illustrated how each of the towns had changed over the years, how each had dealt with that change (each in different ways), and how each had prepared, or failed to prepare, for the future. The question posed by the show to the residents of Mountain City was, "To what extent can and should we be involved now in planning and shaping the future according to what we, as a group, want for our town?"

The students also researched and drew two complete maps, one showing what the town looked like thirty years ago, and another showing each house and building in the town today. Then they drew up an announcement of the scheduled meeting, had it printed, and distributed copies door to door to every house and business in the city limits.

On the appointed evening, nearly a hundred residents showed up. The mayor made some announcements concerning a planned town sewer and water project he had been trying to get

Federal help for, and opened the floor for discussion. Then the students presented their slide show and the maps. A long discussion followed, culminating in the request for more such meetings. The students organized two more, one of them complete with packets that contained more maps, copies of town ordinances that had been referred to in previous meetings, etc.

By the end of the twelve-week quarter, twenty-four residents had formed a committee to sponsor a town-wide cleanup as one small initial form of community action. The cleanup was announced by the students, again through a door-to-door campaign, the cleanup was held, and residents turned out in force to clean up their own yards, clean and mow the sides of every town street, and haul off all the trash they could find. It was followed that afternoon by a chicken barbeque and a square dance. The committee still exists today, and now has students involved in plans for a city park and fountain.

A small beginning, but a beginning. And the students that were involved know far more now about town politics, the structure of the city council and its duties, and positive organized town action than they would ever have learned in a classroom. It will be fascinating to watch them as adults.

The school and the community must marry. We've only begun the courtship, but already students in our classes, through the creation of visible end products created within and about and with the cooperation and involvement of the surrounding towns, keep the residents in our area constantly involved in their work. Television shows the students create are broadcast daily over the county CATV network. In fact, students run the CATV studio as part of their academic work. Radio shows students create are broadcast locally. Foxfire Magazine is constantly visible. Our environmental class recently displayed the solar collectors they had designed and built in the parking lot of the local bank, and the photography classes mount regular exhibitions of their work in the lobby of the same bank. When a group of my students helped a class of sixth graders design and build a low-cost playground at their elementary school, the local newspaper devoted three pages of text and photographs to its coverage of that project.

Fifth, there should be an atmosphere inside the school, fostered by the principal, of fermentation and excitement and anticipation - the feeling that something is happening that is good and worth being a part of - all laced by a generous

dose of the unexpected. Much of this will result automatically from allowing the previous four principles to dominate the school's life, but in addition to this, principals should encourage experiments that involve the entire school population. Some of them will fail, many will not; and in the right environment of creative unpredictability, all will be applauded, at the very least, as attempts worth the trying.

One of the most vivid illustrations I can give of this sort of school-wide experimentation (or craziness, if you will) happened recently in our school for the first time when our organization, in association with the school librarian and her staff, and with the cooperation of the principal and all the teachers, sponsored a three-day celebration of community resources. With the exception of two-period blocks each day for activities that the entire student body witnessed (concerts, plays, etc.) every class on every day was visited by a person from the community who could bring what was being studied at that time in that classroom to life. An American history class was studying the Depression at the time, and so the people who visited that class were ones who could add a human, here-in-Rabun-County orientation to the study of that subject. They were people who had worked in

CCC camps and on WPA projects in the area, for example, and even included the Under Secretary of Agriculture for Roosevelt who lives in our county and was able to give a fascinating, behind-the-scenes look at that period of time in a way a text never could. A chemistry class was visited by a chemist from the local Burlington carpet mill who demonstrated the mixing of chemical dyes and talked about the role of chemistry in his work. A biology class was visited by a beekeeper who came with all the tools of his trade; and English class studying poetry by a local songwriter; a drafting class by an architect; a business class by a secretary; a government class by our local State representative; a small engine repair class by a man who makes his living in that field - and so on, in every class, for three days. Hundreds of community residents were involved in a coordinated assault that kept the students in a state of anticipation and excitement that I had never seen before - an invasion of the fortress that people in this area are still talking about. During an evaluation period the following week, 953 students (out of 956), and every teacher, said they would like to see the same thing happen again the following school year. And since then, teachers who had never before invited community residents to work with them have been doing so with regularity.

A problem in many schools is that principals allow themselves to become so buried in the day-to-day minutiae of maintaining the status quo that they despair of ever having time to do anything else. And perhaps asking more of them is asking too much. But in schools where principals dream in broad strokes and lead and inspire in such ways, breaking out of the day-to-day and forcing a sense of forward motion and experimentation, the atmosphere is something to behold.

Some of you - teachers, students, principals, parents, librarians, school board members, custodians, grandparents, and the like - may be tempted to use the yardstick I have drafted, primarily for myself, in evaluating your own school. May I offer two cautions?

- Use my yardstick as exactly that - a measuring device - and not a road map. The examples of specific activities I have given, Foxfire Magazine included, grew naturally and organically out of, and were tailor-made to, the needs of their specific environments. Different kinds of activities that evolve out of your own situation's soil will (and perhaps are now) serve you far better than carbon copies of those developed by others. In fact, sometimes the developing and the testing of a new idea become as much of a solution as the final project itself.

- The principles I advocate are evolutionary and based on personal observation. I grow and change as a teacher, my ideas change over time, and this list of principles will change with me. In their present form, they represent what will probably (perhaps hopefully) seem to me a pinched and limited vision after my next fourteen years in the classroom. Don't accept them at face value. Change them. Challenge them. Add to them.

Above all, move. Refuse to accept the status quo. Refuse to allow yourself to believe you have finally found "the way". Know that despite the fact that public schools are less than perfect learning environments, exciting and creative environments can be nourished within them where genuine learning does take place; and with sensitive leadership, those environments can spread within the system to infect the whole and to embrace the surrounding communities and the larger community of man to the ultimate benefit of all.

I have not seen even this limited vision happen yet within even one entire public school. I have seen enough pieces of it happen to various extents in my school and others, however, to be convinced that it is a workable and

attainable, if limited, dream.

And I am positive that when that dream does come true, at last, in one school, somewhere, that that school will shine like a lighthouse beacon across this land.

Jane Christensen
 Chair
 Language Arts Department
 Everitt Junior High School
 Wheat Ridge, Colorado

Color and Spirit

Curriculum is like the crinoids. Crinoids, those meat-eating underwater plants, display spectacular colors -- but are colorfast only in their natural habitat of salt water. They fade rapidly when held in the air for analysis. Likewise, curriculum -- the goals, contents, and teaching/learning procedures -- out of its natural dynamic setting between teacher and students, seems to fade and become lackluster. When examined with the careful eye, the isolated curriculum seems diminished to a kind of lifeless prose, heaps of well-intentioned words without the force of human interaction. One receives only a fleeting impression of its true coloration. Yet with only fleeting impressions, the curriculum must bear examination for general evaluation and future direction.

As philosopher Martin Heidegger suggests and any classroom teacher verifies, curriculum is the very substance that holds teacher and student together in a relationship. It is what we are "about" together, that tangible force which requires both of us to be active in some sense of struggle. The curriculum etymologically derives from the Latin sense of "running with full implication of the chariot race; motion

in any event. In that running of the curriculum, two directions are vital: the direction of discipline and the direction of freedom. Those curved directions of discipline and freedom circle upon one another in an interdependence of curriculum. Curriculum provides for both the disciplined, structured sequence of the craftsman and the freedom and invention of the artist. Spirited discipline of work hones the mind and makes it ready for the spirited invention and exploration which excites the mind to return to spirited discipline of work . . . and so on.

Both medieval and modern fields of study -- English, science, mathematics, social studies, physical education, the arts -- embrace this sense of rhythmic discipline and freedom. Every field of study contains the "basics" of craftlike structure and the "basics" of artistic freedom. Both "basics" are interdependent and equally important. Such basics lead to a human product; skilled sensitive human beings who are enhanced in their ability to think, feel, and act. The success of this moving curriculum, embracing both discipline and freedom, depends on both the needs of the students and the gifts of the teacher coming together in some spirit of contagion.

The needs of the students are crucial in any curriculum consideration. There is no debate between subject-centered or student-centered education. By nature of the student "being there," the teacher is forced to consider him -- his nature, his reactions, and his abilities. As a captive audience, students often have no certainty about what they "want" -- only a vague expectation that they might "learn something," preferably without pain or effort. Their needs often seem as quixotic as their moods. However, most classroom teachers who meet with them daily can chart some of their obvious and not-so-obvious needs:

- . . . to learn to "attend" or concentrate and find interest
- . . . to express themselves in clear oral and written language and in the arts
- . . . to read and think critically -- draw conclusions, see comparisons, discern, and choose
- . . . to become flexible to "cope" with inner and outer change
- . . . to choose and practice values
- . . . to accept themselves and extend beyond themselves
- . . . to have challenges and handle the tension between success and failure

. . . to possess an edge of spirit

The listing of needs presupposes students have space enough to be uncrowded and comfortable, material that is up-to-date and relevant to age and level of understanding, supportive facilities that make their school day more enjoyable, an atmosphere of acceptance in which they can hope, and disciplinary bounds beyond which they can't push.

If "catching" students is as important as "instructing" them, that last need of "edge of spirit" is vital. If the teacher follows the Socratic idea of being a numbfish for students, that "charge" cannot be felt without a student being spirited enough to feel the charge and expectant enough to react.

Finally, it is that numbfish teacher charging the student and giving color to the crinoid-like curriculum who completes the triad. With a sense of discipline and freedom, she precariously balances the educational process to entice, catch, instruct, and give vision. She engenders life -- both in the curriculum and in the students. It is her contagion that allows the whole process to flourish. There needs to be a craving and a sense of awe and wonder on the part of the teacher who is the master learner in the classroom. Students need to see that in some unique way, the

subject matter has actually colored the mind and heart of the teacher. She does not merely "walk" students through the curriculum; she "dances" them through. She burns with a quiet enthusiasm as she fills students' cups and calls forth latent abilities: all part of her gifts and vocational calling. Like the Phoenix bird of old, she must rise from the ashes resplendent, not every 500 years, but every day to meet classes. She learns to accept the alternate blessing and cursing of the students as a normal lot, part of the learning process.

However, since the teacher lacks the secret of the fabled Phoenix bird, she must look elsewhere for a sense of renewal and regeneration. She must continue to feel secure in her subject matter, secure at her own core (though flexible at her edges), and secure in her vision. This implies retraining, encouragement, and hope: growth that is vital in any work with adolescents. In a day of teacher burnout, teacher entrenchment, reduced staff turnover, financially unwise sabbaticals, increased responsibilities, and flagging energy, there is a need for retraining and revisioning. Perhaps the primary need for any curriculum concern in the 80's is to provide the teachers of the 80's with a sense of personal renewal, continued confidence in her gifts, and new developments in her field

of study. Who calls forth her latent abilities and tends to her cup? Some possibilities are at hand:

Local level

Professional groups, such as the National Council of Teachers of English, could be funded to conduct more in-service programs on local levels. Since cost may soon make travel prohibitive for teachers, large national gatherings will be less feasible. Such professional groups can easily tap qualified personnel and produce material for such in-services. These local in-services might also carry accreditation for recertification. Now that year-long schooling is with us, some teachers who are unable to find longer time slots for summer collegiate work would welcome work on a local level.

Regional level

Regional in-services might be conducted, again by professional organizations and/or a committee of interested teachers. The month of August might be considered for regional conferences housed on college campuses, usually vacated at this time. One, two, or three week conferences could be planned around polls of teacher needs. Again accreditation is advisable.

National level

Many of today's leaders in my field of English can trace their own sense of direction back to an institute federally subsidized in the 1960's. Such

investment in teachers may be difficult to measure or assess, but the influence has been marvelous. The kind of camaraderie that resulted from groups of teachers learning together has force beyond that of fond memory. Perhaps the time has come for another consideration of such institutes in the arts. Hopefully, planning of such institutes might include the actual teachers who will be in attendance.

Visiting scholars within disciplines

The National Foundation for Humanities has an intriguing program of visiting scholars who help initiate a humanities program within an individual school. Such a program is highly selective and available to schools only if they are venturing on a humanities approach. Such a program would be most advantageous within disciplines rather than crossing disciplines. Professors could be selected according to their expertise and ability to work with public school classroom teachers.

Research in troublesome areas

Teachers often feel the need for additional research in certain areas of study. For example, in the field of English there is a need for additional research into the teaching and learning of the writing process. The present situation of one teacher attempting to teach writing to 150-plus students is surely well-intentioned

but often ineffective. Teachers untrained in the composition process complain about "the blind leading the blind." What situations and techniques best foster the teaching/learning of writing? More research needs to be done in this field of concern.

Master teachers released

Master teachers could be released from the classrooms to travel and meet with other teachers. Such a master teacher carries a sense of validity and authority, someone from the front-line trenches, and as the "visitor in the midst" is often able to gain confidence quickly and give practical help without fear of evaluative backlash for needy teachers. A growing trend is for teachers to seek out at any national convention the program presented by another classroom teacher; it should be "practical" and honest in meeting their own needs.

Curriculum research by teachers

Small groups of qualified teachers might be funded to develop curriculum materials/procedures for appropriate levels. Perhaps it is time to mobilize the teacher as researcher, the practitioner who finally has time to engage in some research related directly to the field. Most of the time the teacher must put out so much raw energy in classroom work that research becomes a luxury. The fact that the classroom teacher has not done research

in the past does not mean she is not able. Some might need instruction in research techniques but will then move along to make significant strides in gleaning results and translating those results into direct practice. Such work could be done during summers or in off-season track vacations.

Collegiate departments of education as teacher centers

With declining numbers of students in collegiate departments of education, those departments might extend services to teachers in the community. National Education Association recently set up temporary "clinics" or centers to accommodate teacher problems such as burnout and depression. These departments of education could be permanent sites for formal and informal gatherings of teachers, for professional activities, and possibly even for professional materials.

When affairs become complex or perplexing, people try to reduce that complexity to simplicity, try to find some small sense of order. If such reduction leads to simple profundity, the effort has been worthwhile. However, too many times we find ourselves with only simplistic solutions. My concern as a classroom teacher is that we not settle for simplistic reductions. These simplistic reductions often occur when we are in too great a hurry to find fast remedies. Even the medical

profession finds too many adverse side-effects from fast remedies. Our educational process, organically like the human body, is a complex, often mysterious entity that defies simplistic approaches. Granted teachers, curriculum, and students all need to be held accountable -- but held accountable only without diminishing that essential spirit that vitalizes the whole process. We cannot measure only small, easy-to-measure pieces of teaching and learning in simplistic testing and then call it the "whole" or even "profound."

Perhaps our concentration should be less on that which hinders and more on that which fosters -- and then let that fostering increase. What does it take to foster that dynamic encounter of teacher, student and curriculum? What stirs the beginnings and continuation of a long, spirited love affair with learning -- an affair surely the most "basic" of all basics? In the midst of accountability, hopefully we will all, in our appropriate positions of influence, be accountable for fostering the best . . . so that spirits remain on edge and colors remain fast, even spectacular.

NEEDED FOR THE 80'S:
SCHOOLS THAT START WHERE LEARNERS ARE

Kenneth S. Goodman

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(463)

The major educational achievement of the last decade was the rededication of our schools to equal educational opportunity for all American children regardless of race, ethnic and socioeconomic background of parental status. The legal, social, and moral barriers have largely been knocked down. We've removed some of the de facto racial and ethnic segregation by moving children by bus out of racially and economically segregated neighborhoods to more integrated schools.

But such actions, though necessary, are only the pre-requisites to the curricular and methodological reforms necessary to provide a true educational "affirmative" action program. In fact, both the profession and the public are aware that there has been little impact of any of these changes on the wide gap in the effectiveness of our schools in serving the privileged and underprivileged in our country.

The legal barriers are gone. Now we must actualize the promise: We must truly equalize educational opportunity. That's the challenge of the 80's.

The key to this actualization is the central truth that education must start where the learners are. That means we must put the learners at the center of our attention: who they are, where they come from, where they're going. Equal educational opportunity is not the equal chance for everyone to become the same, to be exposed to the same materials, the same body of knowledge. Equal educational opportunity is the right to grow, to expand, to become more fully functional. If we've failed to meet the needs of the minority youth and the children of the poor in our country, it's because we've made them adjust to the school rather than adjusting school to them.

In education, as in so many other attempts to eliminate the effects of discrimination, we thought simply opening closed doors was enough.

But all that opening the doors meant was that many pupils were admitted to classrooms not prepared for their coming. The curriculum, methods, materials, and teachers were largely not open to the differences in language, culture, values, and experience represented by their new pupils. That led to frustration and disillusionment for pupils, for teachers, for parents.

Some teachers found that their low expectations were proven true and some privately confirmed their belief in the inferiority of minority children. Parents reacted to low expectations and demanded that teachers maintain "high standards" which led to intensified pressures on pupils and narrowing the classroom experiences to those calculated to strengthen so-called basic skills. So the classrooms of minority pupils became arenas in which teachers strove to bring a devitalized but unyielding curriculum to alienated, uninspired and sometimes hostile pupils.

Federal programs tended to intensify through financial support what was already not working. Special remedial teachers pulled pupils out of their regular classrooms for extra drill on isolated skills. Federal and state guidelines stressed more frequent use of biased standardized tests. And, in turn, the test led to narrowing the curriculum even more to the things the test tested. Even many of the supposed success stories of these school programs have often turned out to be embittering failures. The scenario often goes like this:

A school (or school system) experiences an influx of minority and/or lower socioeconomic level pupils.

Both the teachers and pupils experience initial discouraging effects. Difference becomes labeled deficiency.

Schools decide "these" children are low achievers because they have difficulty learning.

The conclusion is reached that these children need massive doses of basic skills and more formal highly structured programs. There's no time for the frills.

So the schools adopt a tightly sequenced "direct instruction" program that deals mechanistically with reading with lesser amounts of writing and arithmetic and virtually nothing else.

Tests are chosen which narrowly focus on mechanistic skills.

After a short period of use of the program, three to six months, the children are tested. To everyone's delight, they do moderately well with the group mean being near the national norms. The schools announce they have achieved a successful program for "these" children. But as time continues, the results on the tests become less distinctive and by the time the pupils are in middle grades they are showing the low group test performance they showed before. Furthermore, the pupils have been turned off by the constant pressure and the monotony and barrenness of classroom activity.

The key fallacy involved in all this is that "these" children, as a group, have difficulty learning and that accounts for low achievement patterns. When they're given intensive drill, they do in fact learn what they're being taught. There is nothing wrong with them as learners. And they're able to perform well on tests where the items are much like the exercises they've been drilled on. But the learning is not useful or relevant and is narrowly focussed on skill for its own sake. So as standardized tests in ascending grades begin to shift away from isolated skills to integration and use of reading, writing and arithmetic, the pupils show poorly.

The pattern of response of pupils to such rigid, narrow and barren skills programs is not unique to minority and lower socioeconomic level

pupils. But many of the more privileged pupils have several things going for them.

1. The schools and teachers tend to view middle class pupils positively and orient instruction to the experiences common to middle class pupils.
2. Their homes provide many school-related experiences and provide many alternate opportunities to develop abilities that schools value.
3. As they progress, the school program broadens and becomes more stimulating.

All this narrowing of the school experience for the "disadvantaged" has been happening in an era in which the schools generally have been undergoing severe pressure to utilize industrial "systems" approaches and cost accounting procedures to show that tax payers are getting value for their money.

This industrialization has particularly taken its toll from underprivileged children. "Accountability" criteria for promotion and graduation are linked to standardized tests or to criterion referenced tests. High failure rates create defeatist feelings among pupils and low morale among teachers who feel they're being blamed for the inadequacies of the system. The accountability laws accomplish, absolutely, the segregation and discrimination which were once legally mandated but now is done in the name of achievement. Even patterns of de facto neighborhood segregation are being reestablished as those who can afford to do so flee schools with low test scores.

But the schools can achieve the goal of actualizing equal educational opportunity. We can return to a positive path of accepting the learners and their cultures and building the professionalism in our teachers and administrators that can produce universally effective schools.

Even among the privileged our schools have not tended to accept the full

range of differences among children. Those whose interests, values, abilities vary significantly from the norm have not been well served by inflexible curricula. The trend toward focus on "basic skills" and minimal competencies has hurt these children, too. To provide equal educational opportunity, schools must accord these children the right to be different and help them grow, too. Too many creative children are turned off by schools.

A Historical View

Thomas Jefferson's dream of schools as a democratizing force in the development of our nation, with free education available for all, was a long time in developing.

Our first century was long past before we could claim with any reality that every American child had a free elementary education truly available. And not until a combination of court decisions, child labor laws, compulsory attendance laws, and economic changes occurred did we make universally available secondary education. The comprehensive high school was slow in its evolution and it still has not shaken off the narrowing tradition of secondary education as preparation for the university.

Early advocates of compulsory, free public education sold the public on the role of schools as the crucible or melting pot that made loyal Americans out of culturally diverse immigrants. They sold the immigrants on education as the socio-economic ladder into the middle class. They sold industrial and political leaders on the need for an educated work force to function in a modern industrial society. That meant that schools aimed toward conformity to a narrow norm and justified that in terms of preparing pupils for their roles as workers and citizens.

As schools developed, their objectives became more complex. They became concerned with education for citizenship, for mental and physical health,

for the future as well as the present. The curriculum which had grown in a largely unplanned way in response to various traditions and pressures needed to become more rational and more relevant to the needs of learners and the aims of education.

Professionalism in education began to develop with a growing base in knowledge of learning, teaching, child development, and curricular theory.

The goals of professionalism were:

Schools that could serve our pluralistic American society, now and in the future.

Schools that could serve each and all learners.

Schools staffed by knowledgeable professionals dedicated to their pupils and to the improvement of education.

Almost from the beginning educators tended to polarize. Some saw an educational science emerging with an explicit quantifiable technology which would solve all problems of teaching and learning in explicit detail with a high degree of efficiency and predictability.

Others saw the relationship between teaching and learning as more subtle and complex. They saw education in essentially humanistic terms and the science of education as focussing around child study, curriculum development and the professional knowledge of teachers.

It was John Dewey more than anyone that articulated the essentials of humanistic education based in scientific understanding of the learning and teaching as they relate to developing personal and social needs.

Though Dewey began publishing his ideas before the turn of the century, it was not until the thirties that his ideas began to seriously influence schools and teaching. Some of Dewey's key premises were:

- Adapting schools to learners rather than making learners adapt to

the schools. Accepting their differences.

- Defining the curriculum in terms of children and their needs and placing the child at the center of concern.
- Viewing the role of the school as accepting learners and expanding on where they are when they come to school.
- Involving children in learning by doing, that is making them active participants in their own education.
- Integrating the curriculum and centering it around problem solving experiences.
- Making education life itself rather than preparation for living.

The era of the 30's and 40's was a period of great innovation and experimentation in American schools. Much of this innovation was based on the work of Dewey and others who came to be called progressive educators. Some major achievements of the time were:

- Expansion of social studies programs organized around social topics and problems and integrated with the language arts through "units".
- Elimination of non-promotion, tracking, and ability grouping and provision for grouping within heterogeneous classes by interest and pupil choice in order to serve the full range of abilities. The work of social psychologists had strong influence to redefine the classroom as a social system.
- Organizing the curriculum to move from familiar to unfamiliar and from near to far building on what was known about children's conceptual development.
- Focus in selection of content on function and relevance for the learners.

In this same era, a child study movement flourished dedicated to providing teachers with as much insight as possible into children and their natural physical and mental growth so that teachers might be better able to reach each child.

I don't want to paint a picture of a golden age in education or claim that these changes were realized in all or even a majority of schools. American schools have always shown a wide range of response to innovation. What I want to show, however, is that there has been in existence for some time an articulated and demonstrably effective base for dealing with serving all children and expanding on cultural pluralism and individual difference in our schools.

In 1928, Harold Rugg described the child-centered school in this manner:

"Pupils are alive, active, working hard, inventing, organizing, contributing original ideas, assembling materials, carrying out enterprises. As individuals and as social groups pupils grow and they grow in their capacity to govern themselves, to organize machinery for handling their collective affairs as well as in individual capacity for creative self-expression."

(Rugg, 1928, p. 57)

Somehow as a result of a series of events: World War II, the huge expansion of our schools in the forties and fifties to cope with the population explosion, the Sputnik era with its emphasis on academic competition and high achievers, the tremendous pressures on our schools that the civil rights upheavals produced, and of economic and political pressures in the current era, our schools lost the direction set by the progressives.

What our schools need for the 80's is a new progressive education built on the solid base of the original movement but informed by new scientific knowledge about human development, cognition, language, and the relationship of teaching and learning. This new progressivism needs to be focussed on those children and youth whose need's our schools are currently not according equal educational opportunity.

A key tenet of the neo-progressive movement must be accepting cultural and linguistic difference and treating it as strength rather than weakness.

Several decades of research and theoretical development has supported the wisdom of starting where the learner is. We can demonstrate now that all children learn language easily and well and that the form of language they learn, the dialect of their home and community, is the one best suited to their needs for communication, for thinking and for learning. Starting where the learner is means accepting the home language as the base and helping children to expand this base in and out of school.

Each dialect of each language, we now understand is equal to all others in serving the language needs of its users. All dialects are systematic and rule governed. All provide for growth and change to meet their users needs.

If pupils come to school with a language other than English then schools must accept that language and support the expansion of its use while assisting growth in productive and receptive control of English. We cannot impose the condition on non-English speakers that they must first acquire English before we will permit them to learn in school.

If pupils come to school with a socio-regional dialect which has low social status we cannot impose on them the condition that they must learn "standard" English before they may learn in school. And if, as is true of most bilinguals in the United States, pupils come to school controlling low status dialects of two languages we cannot negate this strength and render them "non-verbal".

Similarly in recent decades ethnographic research has demonstrated that there are no "culturally deprived" people. All children bring a cultural heritage to school. Schools can be flexible and adapt to the cultural pluralism of American pupils and help them expand on their cultural heritage. In doing so they are working with pupils rather than

at cross purposes to them. There is no need to force pupils to choose between what they are and what they want to become. They can develop pride in their ethnic, linguistic, and racial heritage as they expand their ability to function in wider cultural circles.

From cognitive psychology, we've learned that learning is interactive: what the learners already know and believe strongly influences how they will interpret new experience and what they will learn. Dewey preferred the term transaction, to indicate the extent to which learners are involved through experience with their environment. Piaget has helped us to understand learning as assimilation and accommodation. Learning is seen as a process of internal growth and change within the learner.

All of these developments have led us away from simplistic passive views of learning in which young people are considered empty vessels to be filled with knowledge, one piece at a time. Schools, to be successful for all pupils, cannot be places where things are done to children. They must be places where children grow through useful relevant experience. We've come to understand that literacy develops naturally just as oracy does when language is meaningful and functional. That leads to holistic literacy programs in which the emphasis is on using real meaningful written language from the very beginning. Research helps us to understand the driving need to make sense out of things that motivates and keeps reading moving. It helps us to understand that children develop schema which are strongly influenced by their cultures which they use to predict, organize, and comprehend what they read. It helps us understand that we learn to read by reading and to write by writing.

Out of this emerges a greatly strengthened foundation for the child-centered curriculum Dewey and his colleagues advocated. It's an optimal

curriculum for actualizing equal educational opportunity because it sets neither pre-requisites for learning nor limits on what can be learned. It is not a curriculum to be imposed on learners but a curriculum to be defined in terms of the learners themselves. It is sensitive to the socio-cultural and personal differences among learners and expands on strengths. It is open not closed, positive not negative, expansive not restrictive, dynamic not fixed. It views knowledge as relative to the learner. It sees ends becoming means as pupils learn to learn.

In this neo-progressive view schools can personalize learning while helping children to use and respond effectively to social interaction. That's because each child is seen as unique and his/her interests, abilities, enthusiasms, needs, and growth patterns are respected.

This is a curriculum that is sensitive to and responsive to minority and underprivileged learners because it is sensitive to all learners. Its basic principles and methods are the same in the inner city as they are in the affluent suburbs because flexibility is their most essential quality. It builds on the universal human attributes of language and learning while being adaptive to the personal and social differences to be found in any classroom.

The role of the teachers in the new progressive classrooms is that of facilitator, guide, monitor. The teachers are informed professionals able to help children define problems, see relationships, identify needs and seek solutions. The teachers know children and they know about teaching, learning, language, and the structure of knowledge. They can monitor progress, see developing strengths, help pupils find their way around barriers. They can shape the curriculum to take advantage of the learner's strengths. They help learners define their aims.

The materials of learning are those of the real world including the community itself. But there is active use of a full range of media to bring the world into the classroom.

An evolution of school texts from the controlling force that determines the day-to-day curriculum to resource books that teachers can use to support a flexible program needs to be continued. School texts have deteriorated badly in quality and utility as a result of the back-to-basics movement. A good deal of the progress made in past decades to make texts more usable, interesting and more relevant to learners has been reversed. Recent texts are overlaid with sterile management systems keyed to narrowly viewed skill sequences. Publishers advertise how old-fashioned the ideas in their texts are.

Teachers may need to set aside the use of such text series and use other resources to serve the varied needs, interests and ability levels of their pupils.

Our classrooms need to be organized so that teachers can make learning relevant to each learner. That means the use of interest centers. It means paperback and hardcover book libraries in the classrooms. It means movable, modular furniture to facilitate individual and small group instruction. A variety of staffing plans including teams composed of teachers and aides needs to be used. That can make it possible to provide for language difference as well as difference in interest and ability. It's less important that we open the classroom walls than that we open the curriculum and minds of teachers and administrators.

In recent decades the role of school administrator has narrowed to that of manager of the industrialized structured system. In the new progressive tradition the principal must once again become the curricular leader

facilitating and guiding the professional staff and making sure all children are welcome and growing.

The entire educational profession needs to be revitalized to make use of new knowledge in planning the new progressive curriculum. Federal programs can be very useful in encouraging the research, synthesizing and dissemination necessary to create a practical program teachers can implement. Particularly our teacher education colleges need to develop people who can translate theory and research into practice through in-service education for teachers. Highly effective teachers, particularly those who are minority members themselves, need to be encouraged to develop themselves through such programs as teacher educators and administrators so that they may lead the way for others.

Current uses of standardized tests must be abandoned. Nothing has been more destructive of teacher morale and curricular relevance than the abuse and misuse of group evaluation. These tests are the chief instrument of institutional discrimination and the major barrier to equalizing educational opportunity.

In any case, neo-progressivism has useful alternatives to offer:

Self evaluation. If children are involved in their own learning, if the aims are their aims then they can judge their own progress. Have I understood? Am I learning? Is my solution to the problem an effective one? What else do I need to know? Am I making progress? These are questions teachers can help pupils ask and answer. No evaluation is more useful than self evaluation in planning further learning.

Our schools have been preoccupied with evaluation for rewards and punishments. So we confused the purposes of evaluation. Evaluation's primary purpose is to see where learners are so they can be helped to grow.

Kid-watching. Earlier we said an important child study movement was flourishing in the 30's. Teachers need to become "kid-watchers" once again. They need to know how to observe learners and infer their strengths and needs so that they can facilitate their growth. Teachers spend up to 30 hours a week with children but expensive test programs have undercut their confidence to form their own evaluative judgements. They've come to believe that a test written in Princeton, New Jersey or Iowa City and administered in a few hours can somehow show more than they know about their students. We must give the authority and responsibility for useful evaluation back to the teachers.

Public scrutiny. The public, particularly parents, have a right to know what our schools are doing. Parents need to be involved in planning. They deserve regular professional reports and they must be welcome in the schools. They need the help of professionals in knowing how to judge pupil progress. That means they need help in developing alternatives to "common sense" views of what schools are accomplishing.

Conclusion

The new progressivism I am calling for is by no means a reality yet. But I'm convinced that there are strong forces which will make it a reality.

One force is the knowledge base I've cited. This knowledge base from recent scientific inquiry creates a strong pressure for change.

Another force is rebellion of teachers and other professional educators against the dehumanizing and limiting minimal competency-accountability-systems programs. Teachers have been pushed too far and their alarm for the welfare of children is causing them to seek positive alternatives.

But the major pressure is from the children themselves. We've made them

a promise: that promise is equal educational opportunity. They will not be denied that. They will continue to reject schools, in one way or another, until our schools become truly open to them all.

Sister Caroleen Hensgen
 Superintendent of Schools
 Diocese of Dallas

THE IEP: PROBLEM OR SOLUTION

The year "1984" is almost here. George Orwell in his book by the same name, published thirty years ago, made some gruesome and harrowing predictions about the possible status of man on the earth in '84. As critics have commented, this satire is not a drama of life that might be, but nightmares of what it is becoming. Orwell envisions the slogan of an existent political party to be "Ignorance is strength". He elaborates on the subjugation of all ideas to the Thought Police, the stifling of creative imagination to the Ministry of Truth, the squelching of the last flicker of individuality, and ultimately, the turning of man into an automaton. True, this is a classic of "Negative Utopia", a state of being that is in direct opposition to what we hope for in America, the American dream of open thought and freedom of expression in the truest American tradition. Although as open-minded Americans hold, this kind of suppression of man does not exist in our beloved land, but to a great extent in the totalitarian countries. Nevertheless, Eric Fromm in the "Afterword" of Orwell's book states that it would be most unfortunate if the reader smugly interpreted "1984" as another description of Stalinist barbarism, and does not see that it means us, too. As educators of students in free America, it is mandatory that we pursue a path in education that does not prepare the child for life, but prepares a student to live that life, think those thoughts, and create those ideas that will militate against the intrusion of thought suppression, negativism, and inhumanization as Orwell predicted for the 80's.

To teach a student to live his life is to give that student unlimited opportunities to be responsible for his actions, the ruminations of his mind, and the consequent actions that flow from his thinking. He must have more to say about what he does and how he does it with what he has. As a student he is characteristically unique, therefore his ability to learn, his speed of learning, his power to assimilate knowledge, and his potential to use the accumulated knowledge or to create the unknown is unique and individual. There is only one way to meet each child's needs and that is through a program that is geared to him as this unique individual. No teacher on his or her

own can meet this demanding responsibility to bring each student to the point of fullest maturation of his potential. It requires the corporate effort of the student, the parent, a core of teachers that touch the student each day, and all the technological hardware and educational software available. The Individualized Educational Program (IEP) offers a viable solution for meeting the needs of the 80's. The first formal recognition was given to the IEP in P.L. 94-142 for the handicapped wherein it was mandated in Sec. 4 (a)(19) that for each child there be on file and in use an individualized educational program. In the ESEA Amendments of 1978, Congress again hinted at the use of the IEP in remediation programs in Title I, Sec. 129. Although it was not mandated by law it was suggested in no uncertain terms to implement it "wherever feasible".

In the generation past we have come from the "egg-crate" form of learning where the students knew very well the back of each student's head and the shape of his ears because of the lack of frontal interaction with his fellow students, through the periods of progressive education of indulged freedom with little accountability, to the pre-packaged learning activities, the "flexi-mod" scheduling, to the "Schools Without Walls", back to the classroom with walls.

The issue here is not to discuss whether any of these systems is effective or not effective, but to focus on the student who is the center of the issue. The student is always the focal point of education. Gimmickry and programming is peripheral to the essence of education. The IEP, or some variation thereof, is a viable response to the requirements for meeting each student's assessed needs and for opening up a broad vista for creative activities through the combined efforts of all who have a basic responsibility for the education of each individual. Many other programs of individualization have been on the market for some time, which for the most part are teacher, student, and classroom oriented; whereas the IEP includes the parent who is basically the primary educator of his or her children, who does not only have the right but the obligation to be

involved, and who ultimately sets the climate for growth and follow-up to the classroom learning.

Educators balked at the requirement for P.L. 94-142 wondering when they would find time to teach with the additional paper work required and the precious time they would have to spend bringing parents into the education process which they felt confident would slow down the wheels of progress. I assure you I was among the number that felt that way. Educators know that parental involvement most frequently leads to success stories and well-defined progress in the educational process and still there is a reluctance to involve the parents.

It has been my privilege to monitor at close range a private school for handicapped and emotionally disturbed children, ages three to twenty-one, many of whom are on contract according to P.L. 94-142 in this school at the request of about fifteen area public school districts. Administrators and teachers have struggled from the initiation of the IEP in the school program to its smooth implementation today. Although I was a protestor in the beginning, I am today a believer.

To meet the requirement of the IEP as stated in P.L. 94-142, within thirty days after the enrollment of a student a conference is held with the parent, teacher, psychologist, physical therapist, coordinating specialist, speech therapist, and any other person directly responsible for the student's educational growth. Each conference requires about one hour. Again in January the IEP is reviewed and amended, and in May the process is repeated with a view of what has been achieved and the suggested plan for a new IEP for the following year. This calendar does not preclude an amendment or evaluation between assigned times if a change is deemed necessary by any of the involved parties. At the time of the initiation of the IEP three forms are used as guides:

- the long term goals, noting present level of performance, prioritization of long term objectives, and placement recommendations and justification.

- the short term goals, listing each academic area under discussion, objectives set down for each area, specific educational and/or support services to be used in implementation, the person responsible for each area, the beginning, ending, and reviewing dates, recommendations for specific procedures/techniques, materials and learning styles, and the evaluation criteria for goals and objectives.
- the write-off, signing of the plan by each party involved in the conference to accept the stated goals as viable and his or her relationship to the student, and the date of signature.

This sounds like, and is, a demanding task but with these commitments in writing the evaluation process is simplified and more meaningful. The pay-off is worth every moment of the effort. So much so that the teachers and the administrators have introduced the program for every child, mandated by law or not mandated. With this watch-dog approach and repeated evaluation of student achievement and teacher planning, the progress of the student has been phenomenal. It is a process of putting one's eye on the goal and wasting no time going right or left but in one straight line toward that goal. There is built into the program the checks and balances necessary and it involves the parents who today are sophisticated in the ways of education and want by right a piece of the action.

The process is not a panacea of all that is good. It has its built-in problems, none of which is insurmountable. Needless to say the paper work could be overwhelming but once in place the process flows smoothly. Also, in the beginning parents may be too ready to leave all the decisions up to the educator, or are embarrassed to express themselves in the presence of an educator or a number of educators, or they are hesitant to give input because they do not trust their own opinion. In this regard the educator must prove to the parents that they are co-educators and partners in the student's growth pattern. The educator

affects the child's life for about 12% of the year, whereas the parent has total responsibility for the child.

It is the "in" thing today to predict the future, especially since we are coming to the close of the second millenium. Thousands have done it. Some even make the educator feel that anything that will still happen in the nineteen hundreds will be ineffective and that something magic will happen by the year 2000 when there could be "schools without teachers". It is not in the purview of this writer to predict the future. It was a way of life when I was young and brash, but I agree with Alvin Toffler who said that he never predicts the future but merely puts into the print the things that are already on the drawing board. Granted that in twenty years the educational world could change its whole face, but a child will continue to be a child with all the problems of learning. For this there is no magic solution. The educator will have to continue to be creative, imaginative, and stay on top of the situation so that technology will never overpower the prowess of the mind of an individual and his potential.

If these success stories are occurring with children who are handicapped, then how much more progress could be achieved with the children in the regular classroom. An ordinary classroom today represents a motley group of individuals, the healthy, the physically handicapped, the achiever, the underachiever, the overachiever, the emotionally disturbed, the one with unpleasant home conditions, a language barrier, the one suffering from the pressures of social environment or technological influences in his life, and all the others that have not been categorized. Each one is at a different stage of readiness to learn. And then a teacher is expected to meet all the needs in one fell swoop. In such a milieu only an aggressive student could savor the sweet taste of success. There is nothing more devastating psychologically to a child than failure. Why pit this motley group one against the other? Why not use the IEP to allow each one to grow and relish that growth at his own speed with his parents involvement in the growth pattern? In the regular classroom the

student should also be involved in the IEP conference.

The use of the IEP would offer many opportunities for academic inquiry, time for the student to develop his own interests, personal sense of responsibility for one's actions, and the use of one's time. Further, such a program over a period of years would teach the student that education is a continuing process and hopefully he would see himself throughout his life on this educational continuum.

Parents too often do not even know their child's behavioral and academic patterns in the school setting. Often the parents have exaggerated expectations of the child's potential and consequently put the student under unbearable psychological duress to achieve far beyond his capabilities, or they underestimate the possible potential of their child. Parental involvement in planning the child's program and monitoring progress would alleviate unrealistic parental expectations.

Most teachers today are blessed with smaller numbers of students assigned to each class, with possible assistance in the room from aides or volunteers, with many types of student self-helps, kits, and educational materials. Some are even blessed with high-powered technology in the classroom. Even if some or all of these helps are lacking, through ingenious planning a teacher could carry out the IEP or an adaptation of it to follow-up group instruction, teaching of skills, and general concepts of each subject. The program necessitates the assignment of a daily planning period to each teacher. This time is not a luxury, but an essential factor for success of the program. The teacher should be allowed to replace the report card with the IEP conferences. Is it not a waste of time and an inane act to work out a mathematical problem placing the child's mind as the numerator and test scores, daily grades, and pop quizzes as the denominator and end up with a single number called a percent or a letter that has no real meaning with a different interpretation by everyone who sees it? In no way will these number or letter grades have meaning again to a parent

who becomes involved in the IEP and understands its worth. If educators prepare students in the 80's for personal responsibility from the earliest years of schooling, by the year 2000, the student will be prepared to cope with the schools without walls, the global classroom without a teacher, the electronic tube responding to the student's needs and desires, the "ultramicrocard" with some 2500 pages of printing condensed on a single four-by-six card, and a supersophisticated computer for instant data retrieval in his vest pocket. All of these will just be another challenge to the self-reliant student who will plan his own destiny and never again be subject to the oppressive rigidity of the egg-crate form with rote data as a daily fare.

Let us be aware that the futurists predict that all the above-mentioned sophisticated approaches to education in the year 2000 do not mean that man will overcome ignorance. On the contrary they foresee that as a society becomes more complex it requires an increasingly higher level of literacy. Will the educator's ingenious methods and approaches to education ever be able to meet the societal problems and technologies that proliferate themselves faster than man can understand them, much less conquer them? Therefore, presently the IEP seems to be the most basic and solid approach to prepare for the beginning of the third millennium after Christ.

Let 1984 come and go. The ingenious creativity of educators will prove conclusively that Orwell's statement "Ignorance is strength" has no bearing in fact. However difficult it maybe we shall commit ourselves to strive toward a positive academic utopia.

Reflections on Elementary
and Secondary Education: A
Prelude to the 1980's

Prepared for the
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of the
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of the United States Congress

Vito Perrone
Center for Teaching and Learning
University of North Dakota
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An Introductory Statement

I am pleased with this opportunity to offer to the Committee on Education and Labor a personal perspective about elementary and secondary education in the forthcoming decade. My brief remarks - a mixture of beliefs and hopes as well as social policy analyses - grow out of twenty-five years of experience in public education as a classroom teacher, university professor and administrator, educational historian, social policy critic and parent. They are not meant to be all-inclusive - space was hardly available for anything so ambitious - or prescriptive. My intent is to offer a way of reflecting upon some of our educational needs as the new decade comes upon us.

Public confidence in the schools has declined steadily over the course of the current decade, now having reached its lowest level in the twentieth century.* The optimism of the 1960's - a time when educational reform and equality of educational opportunity were central features of public policy, epitomized in part by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 - has given way to a variety of conservative responses which have tended to immobilize schools, teachers and students and encourage divisiveness in public education. Bilingual-bicultural education programs, for example, are under siege, commitments to integrated (racial, social, ethnic) schools appear no longer as central to public policy, tracking (whether the result of programs for the gifted, special education, vocational education or competency testing for purposes of promotion and graduation) has become acceptable again. Now one could argue that the current condition is related to the general economic slump that exists or that public education is merely in a down-

* The focus of this paper is education; however, it needs to be noted that public confidence in most other political, economic and social institutions is also low. Government is viewed as ineffective and unresponsive, if not corrupt. Mainline churches are struggling with only limited success to respond to social change. Our economic system is faltering, our standing in the world diminishing, a sense of malaise has come to dominate much of our thought as expressed in the media and popular literature.

cycle, a period of reassessment; that the more progressive tendencies which have been characteristic of 20th century public education - the decades of the 1920's and 1960's being prime examples - will emerge again in the years ahead. While I tend to believe this to be the case, I am also concerned greatly about a phenomenon that is relatively unique and may exacerbate our current dilemmas. I wish to discuss this now inasmuch as it will relate indirectly, if not directly, to almost everything else that follows.

Changing Demography of the Schools: Public Education and Its Clientele

The baby boom years are behind us and our school age population has entered a decline that will likely continue over the next decade. This demographic factor was predictable. But what was less predictable has been the growth in private school attendance - principally from those white and middle class families that have traditionally provided the political and fiscal base for public education. Our public schools, especially in our urban communities, are becoming, as they were to a large degree at the end of the 19th century, schools for the poor and minorities.* These children have always provided for schools significant educational challenges - not because they lack intelligence but because the schools have been organized, by and large, to serve the interests and experiences of middle-class, mainstream children. While the schools have succeeded, in spite of their dominant character, with large numbers of children and young people from minority and poor families, their failures have been even larger. The parents of

* At the end of the 19th century, the public schools served the poor. Minorities typically lacked any significant educational opportunity.

our changing public school population lack in most of our urban settings sufficient political power to influence public policy. At a time when the needs in the public schools may be greater than ever, the pressures against supporting public education are intensifying. Those who vote in local communities and state legislatures to restrict curriculum to "basic skills education," demand that students pass particular tests for grade promotion and graduation, permit class sizes to increase, limit materials expenditures, and the like, are to a very large degree imposing penalties on this changing public school population that are not imposed on those who can afford to go to the private schools. No private school student in Florida, for example, faced the specter of being labeled a "functional illiterate" because private school students didn't have to take the State's mandated Functional Literacy Test.*

Parents, Communities and Schools

What can Congress do about the foregoing. It needs to recognize the changing demography - in numbers and in socio-economic, racial and ethnic composition - and be prepared to offer the fiscal support that may be increasingly more difficult to acquire at the local levels. More productively in the long run, however, Congress might provide even greater emphasis to its mandates for significant parent involvement. At the moment Parent Advisory Councils (PAC's), associated with programs such as Title I, have had only limited success. Much more attention needs to be given to training programs and to the development of more effective, less ambiguous, roles for PAC's. Such groups might, for example, with considerable assistance from state education agencies,

* The Functional Literacy Test has recently been retitled the "State School Assessment Test II."

be given far greater responsibility for the evaluation of Title I programs as a means of increasing their understanding of education and their political power in support of their children.

The PAC's discussed above have related almost exclusively to special programs within schools. They are important but we need in the future to consider also other kinds of councils that are broader in scope. For too long, we have viewed schools almost exclusively as the center of our educational efforts on behalf of the young. Without denying the importance of schools, we need to acknowledge that there are many other important educative settings in our communities that may be far more influential educationally for many individuals; namely, homes, television, libraries, museums, parks, recreation centers, neighborhoods, banks, stores, churches, and the work place. We often concern ourselves with the quality of the schools through official organizations such as boards of education or parent advisory councils but take less note of the quality of the out-of-school learning opportunities available to children and young people. These have deteriorated to a very large degree in many of our communities. Parks are not maintained, libraries and museums have restricted their hours, volunteer social service programs have declined from lack of attention, children are left alone more because parents are working and extended family units are less frequent, etc. The resources which exist in most of our communities - urban and rural - are large and to a very large degree untapped. To depend exclusively on teachers in schools for intentional learning is a limited view of education. How many individuals with outstanding preparation and experience in mathematics, engineering, medical sciences, business, or the technical and non-technical vocations

are available to children outside of school in any systematic activity? How many individuals who are practicing dancers, actors, painters, sculptors, musicians, writers, artisans, crafts persons can one find currently involved with public school children? What kinds of child care services exist in our communities? Questions of this sort are innumerable. Community education programs might be more broadly conceived to include school-community councils able to view education more broadly than schools, that seek to raise public concerns about the erosion of constructive out-of-school learning opportunities and engage all of the particular community's educational, institutional and human resources to a reconstruction that can benefit children and young people.

Individual Schools, Classrooms and State Education Agencies

Knowing what we do about the improvement of learning, individual schools and classrooms as units need to be the focus of attention. The further decision-making moves from the parents, principal and teachers in a particular school, the more remote becomes the potential for any significant improvement.* To act on this knowledge demands, in particular,

* It should be noted in relation to the point being made that there has been, in a general sense, a tendency for teacher-administrator relationships to deteriorate to the detriment of children, young people and their parents. The separation of their professional organizations and the labor-management postures that have developed have contributed to a divergence of educational interests and agendas. This separation is not a constructive base upon which to build the healthiest of educational settings. Placing more education decision-making responsibility at the particular school level may be a significant means of altering the existing condition. It is here that teachers and administrators, along with parents, can coalesce their energies and interests inasmuch as the children are real and visible.

a different role for state departments of education and in turn a different direction for Congress. Much of what Congress, for example, has promoted over the past decade in its efforts to strengthen state departments of education has supported centralization. In general, state departments of education wield more power now than has ever been true. They develop regulations, influence, if not control, curriculum, examine, direct, accredit, etc. The challenge for state departments in the decade ahead is not more centralization but an increased capacity for providing curriculum, evaluation, staff development, parent training resources to local school units. The goal needs to be one of increasing the competence of individuals within local districts rather than centralizing competence at the state level. Rather than more dollars being directed at the development of evaluation and curriculum materials at the state level, for example, as is true in Michigan, Florida, South Carolina, and New York, among other states, more fiscal resources need to be directed toward the development of locally relevant evaluation and curriculum materials in local schools and communities. Federal efforts to strengthen state departments might take into account the foregoing needs and the changes that are demanded.

Pluralism, Curriculum and Testing

We need to reestablish support for pluralism - to acknowledge that we have in the United States individuals and communities with a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This support needs to include continuing attention to bilingual-bicultural education and to a broad conception of curriculum. Curriculum development activities which support multi-culturalism are more critical now than ever. Curricular offerings that include the arts, literature, languages, a broad array

of sciences and community studies need to be viewed as essential. At a time when public confidence in schools is low, it is relatively easy for decision makers to consider narrowing curricular offerings, to fall into the simple paradigm of "basic skills" education.

One of the reasons for the narrowing of curriculum in our schools, beyond the simple appeal of "basic skills," is the outcome paradigm that has come to dominate our evaluation systems. We tend within this model to measure that which is believed most measurable. And much of what is most measurable is often least important. The popular construct for measuring, the standardized, norm-reference tests, tends to limit what can be learned about individuals and school as it influences the curriculum itself. For example, while the tests often purport to measure one's ability to read, it must be clear to most educators and parents who examine the tests that they can't represent reading as reading is commonly understood; they are at best weak indicators of reading. Persons who read very well may select "wrong" answers from among the limited choices available (the testing construct is dominated by a multiple choice format) for a host of reasons which may have little to do with their ability to read.* The tests foster a belief that reading is a set of discrete skills that can be - even should be - learned in isolation. Instructional programs which support such a belief - that are designed to improve scores on such tests - abound, principally, and unfortunately, in programs serving Title I children. And what is competency in writing? Is it knowing rules of grammar and spelling or is it the ability to make oneself clear in a written statement? To examine most of the tests that exist, the emphasis is on mechanics, the cosmetics of writing. There are also instructional programs designed to improve test scores in the area of

* The literature is full of descriptions of the drawbacks that multiple-choice formats possess; namely, single correct responses, ambiguity, cultural and linguistic bias, etc.

writing. Few, however, demand that students engage in very much writing. To give as much attention to test score outcomes as now exists in schools may cause some decision-makers to believe that the schools are "doing something about achievement" but the situation is otherwise.

Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as amended in 1978, now includes "effective expression, both oral and written" as part of its definition of basics for which states may now write comprehensive plans. How "effective expression" gets assessed, however, will determine to a large extent how congressional intent gets translated into practice.

In relation to standardized tests, Congress might wish to review existing federal regulations governing evaluation. Many, in fact, encourage the indiscriminate if not outright misuse of tests. Title I evaluation protocols, as now being prepared, are a case in point. Students, their parents and teachers are not being served by evaluation systems that give so much weight to "gain scores" on standardized tests. We need, in Title I, and all other areas of education, assessment procedures which are more sensitive to the learning of children and young people across a wide range of curriculum and provide more information that can be used in the development of responsive instructional programs. What is termed in the educational literature as alternative or qualitative evaluation/assessment procedures need greater support. This could come through existing agencies such as NIE (for purposes of development and dissemination) and through changes in the regulations prepared by the Department of Education which tend now to discourage alternative assessment activities.

We need also to continue educational efforts designed to bring greater understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of various approaches to assessment, testing included, as well as their appropriate and inappropriate uses. Many individuals and organizations have in the past few years begun to press for "truth-in-testing" legislation as a means of supporting greater fairness in testing as well as bringing about greater public discussion of and knowledge about tests and testing. While these efforts appear related principally to post secondary testing, the impact will be larger. Congressional support of such efforts is a step toward needed reform.

Historical Perspective

Public education in the United States has a history almost as long as the republic itself, yet we lack extensive historical accounts of schools and their interaction with the culture at large. In large measure this is the case because those concerned with schools have not even historical perspective as critical to the improvement of schools. If we had, for example, better descriptions of school curricula, organizational patterns and instructional processes, as well as the political, economic and social factors which influenced them, we might have a better grasp of what educational reform demands. Lacking historical perspective, we enter often into what are viewed as new directions for reform without a sufficient base or inclination for examining earlier, but similar, efforts and their contexts.*

* Competency testing is a particularly good case in point. The history of certifying examinations in the United States goes back to at least 1845 and the overall results in the period to 1910 were not positive. The results of much of what we are seeing now in the new wave of competency testing all painfully similar to results in those earlier years.

The foregoing suggests an area of investigation that needs encouragement as part of the nation's research agenda. Unfortunately, historical, descriptive research has not been viewed worthy of support.

Research and Evaluation: Concerns about Methodology

Since I have introduced the topic of research as well as evaluation, areas in which the federal role has been large, much more needs to be said. Educational research has been with us for a long time, focusing on questions of teaching and learning as well as on aspects of curriculum. The world view that has given form to most educational research and evaluation efforts - and often given status as the "dominant method" or "scientific method" - is conceptualized in terms of a treatment-outcome or input-output model; social and historical contexts, aspects of programs as well as individual's lives, are treated as "variables" or "factors" to be interpreted through a range of statistical manipulations; reliability rather than validity is stressed; control, concern about decreasing variability in teacher-child responses, program implementation and instructional materials assumes paramount importance. The national evaluation of programs such as Follow Through and Head Start should have provided Congress with sufficient evidence to know that this basic model just doesn't provide the kind of information that is helpful in policy formation or theoretical understandings.

How such a methodology came to dominate educational research and evaluation in the United States is a matter of educational history;

that it continues to play center stage can be explained in part by an unrequited love-affair with science and technology, a belief that we only need to apply a little more sophistication to the model to see significant results, breakthroughs in learning about schools and schooling, teaching and learning.

While few would deny that many of the research and evaluation activities carried out within this "scientific" tradition are interesting, some even useful, too few have added significantly to our cumulative wisdom or given direction to teachers in classrooms inasmuch as they infrequently get close enough to the important data. The methodology - the philosophic outlook which gives direction to contemporary practice of this "scientific" tradition - limits the kinds of questions that are open to investigation, especially in relation to settings as complex as classrooms. This doesn't mean that the direction has nothing to offer; only that the potential is limited.

Alternatives to this dominant, quantitative mode of educational research and evaluation are necessary if the quality of our educational enterprise is to improve. The alternative directions are rooted in observation, descriptive analysis and phenomenological inquiry - processes designed to get close to data in order to establish meaning. This construct typically acknowledges the improbability as well as the undesirability of controlling variables within social settings, operates on the assumption that educational growth and development are manifest in diverse and unique ways as well as in shared ways, gives higher priority to validity than reliability and is cautious about component analysis.

Now I certainly do not wish to argue that what I have labeled here as the alternative has not been a part of the repertoire of educational researchers and evaluators over the years. Research has obviously encompassed a range of methodologies for different problems or questions. What I am expressing, however, is that this direction has been given a lower and less credible status within the broad research community and in the directives of the federal government, the largest contributor to educational research, to the detriment of our search for new knowledge and cumulative wisdom. Our 1980's agendas for research need to be more broadly conceived, less devoted to a research direction that has not demonstrated a capacity for coming to terms with the complexities of classrooms, or the important issues relating to children, young people and learning.

The Teacher as Researcher

How does one get close to classrooms, to learn more about the variety of ways that children come to reading, how children respond to or extend the use of diverse materials, how children use particular language, what processes children go through in problem solving, the degree of continuity that occurs in children's patterns of learning, why teachers do what they do, when and how? The questions are almost inexhaustible. A productive route for responding constructively to such questions - that make use principally of the alternative processes highlighted above - is through and with classroom teachers. This may not be a simple task given the history of research in education and the impact of a related technological orientation in curriculum development,

but it is clearly possible. What is necessary is to help reestablish in schools a capacity for reflection. John Dewey, among others thought of teaching as a professional knowledge producing endeavor. We need now to assume a similar view. Dewey's concern was that teachers needed to maintain a reflective capacity in order to grow, to become individuals who were clear about their intentions and capable of making independent judgments about their classrooms. Teachers with such qualities are capable of informing the research community and assuming a collaborative role. They might also engage in independent research.

Let us assume that encouragement of teachers as researchers - with or without external assistance - produces a deluge of unique descriptions of practice. While some researchers might pale at the prospect, wondering what form generalizations might take, we should, as a matter of public policy, be delighted. The accrual of such accounts would give us some good direction for inquiry, and it would ensure growth in our understandings of classroom practice. Furthermore, teacher's capacity for explicating and understanding practice would increase, thus building more potential for confidence in the schools, a constructive response to the current concern for accountability.

The Teacher as Learner and Teacher Education

More needs to be said about teachers. They are under intense external pressures now, pushed increasingly in the 70's into technician roles rather than the students of teaching roles discussed above. We need in the 1980's to give much more attention to the personal and professional growth of teachers. There is little reason for teachers to become, as so many do, less effective, less interested in children and young people, less enthusiastic as the years pass. Whereas federal and state programs gave considerable support to teachers in the 1960's,

this support has not been sustained in the 1970's. What little remains is fragmented and ambiguous in purpose. One new recent initiative that has potential, if enlarged, if given a broader vision than is now provided by the existing Office of Education leadership, is the Teacher Center Program. Teachers Centers have the potential for consolidating many of the scattered training programs that exist in the vocational, special, bilingual, parent education areas to the ultimate benefit of children and young people. Teacher Centers can also serve to stimulate school based staff development programs which draw heavily upon teachers themselves. Teacher Center funding, however, needs expansion in the 1980's if the promise of this innovation is to be realized.

Teacher Education programs are underfunded throughout the United States. Given the importance of teachers and educational institutions within communities, teacher education expenditures need to enlarge, not because we need more teachers but because we need teachers even better prepared.* Teacher education programs at the pre-service level demand far more intensity than our mass programs have been able to provide. Public Law 94-142, for example, which was long overdue, places new and difficult responsibilities on schools and teachers and demands a more diverse preparation than has been typical at both the pre and in-service levels. In addition, teacher education institutions need to turn increasingly to the task of supporting the development of teachers in their in-service years. To carry out this responsibility is especially costly in time and human resources. While much of the responsibility for funding -

* It should be noted that current talk of teacher surpluses - which will shrink through the 1980's - tends to mask the continuing need for teachers in particular areas of special education, early childhood education, environmental education and the sciences and for teachers from minority backgrounds - black, chicano and American Indian.

in particular in the public institutions where most teachers are prepared and supported - rests within the states, added federal encouragement of experimentation and coordination of teacher education within states and regions would be timely in the 1980's.

Vocational Education

I am compelled, as a result of current research, to make several observations about vocational education programs. Vocational education became popular at the turn of the century as a vehicle for preparing young people for the growing industrial workforce. These programs attracted, for the most part, children of the poor and lower middle classes. The same condition exists today. Vocational educational programs represent a tracking mechanism that begins early, generally in the 8th and 9th grades and tends to limit the options that ultimately are available for those who complete such programs. General mathematics, for example, in the 9th grade, the course taken by those who have been counseled out of algebra, is inhabited to a very large degree by girls, minority students and the poor. Similar conditions prevail in other vocationally oriented courses. Young seventeen and eighteen year olds find themselves with insufficient academic background to pursue post secondary work in colleges and universities and they are often closed out of many highly technical vocational areas because their science-math backgrounds are inadequate. We need to encourage schools to make fresh efforts to tutor those who need help in reading, writing, math and science in order that their options not be so limited. To argue that "these young people" are just too difficult to teach is no longer acceptable.

Vocational education has for a long time had considerable support on the belief that a good match exists between secondary programs and the work place. This relationship, however, has always been weak and is likely to remain so given the rapidity of change in many of the vocational fields and the fluctuation of the economy itself. Given the large scale unemployment which exists among our post high school young people, ages 18-25, the largest percentage of unemployment since the Great Depression, there is a resurgence of belief that more vocational programming will help. We need more realism. The large scale unemployment has more to do with the sheer demography of the numbers of individuals who have entered the labor market in the past decade than to what is happening or not happening in schools. This imbalance between entry level jobs and the numbers of individuals entering the job market will decline in the 80's without any changes in the schools.

A phenomenon that has received little attention, unlike the unemployment problem, is the large scale employment of 14-17 year olds in the burgeoning service, fast food industries which pay minimum wages and provide no benefits. In many places 50-70 percent of the students are working on an average of 20-25 hours per week. Given our present organization of schools, these young people's school based educational experience is declining in intensity. There is little, if any, relationship between what these young people do in and out of school. The relationship could be larger and it need not be carried out within a vocational education format.

Technology and Education

I have not commented on the technological advances in our society that have potential for influencing constructively the learning of young people. The most maligned of our new technologies is the medium of

television. While many deplore, correctly I believe, much of what is offered, there is too little praise for the excellent programming that does exist. The educational potential is large and still untapped. Possibly in the 1980's we can commit more energy and imagination into making television more productive for children, young people and their families. Sesame Street, for example, is not the direction. Not because it is lively and creates difficulty for teachers who, as the popular literature suggests, "are expected to perform like the characters on the program," but because it presents an inadequate model of education - segmented, unrelated and ahistorical. It has entertainment value but we ought not suggest that its educational value - in terms of school learning - is particularly noteworthy.* Beyond broadcast activity, the in-school use of television as a learning tool is virtually untapped.

The continued development of view data control systems - likely to be widely available in the 1980's - opens up fresh potential for bringing a wide range of educational programs into the home via the T.V. monitor. Cooperation of those developing such systems and the schools would be useful but we have little history of such cooperation. This may be a useful agenda for the decade ahead. In addition, home computer technology has advanced to a fairly high state in recent years and may in the next decade alter many of the ways children and young people learn. Such technological developments should be encouraged.

* Changes in the Public Broadcasting Corporation which are scheduled for the 1980's may provide some fresh opportunities.

A Closing Statement

I have introduced in this paper a number of issues which I believe Congress should take into account as it considers educational policy for the 1980's. More could obviously have been introduced; for example, special education and the needs of the handicapped, better utilization of schools, theoretical issues relating to learning, among others. Education - in and out of the schools - needs to be given a high priority and needs to be more free of the polarization (and oversimplification) that has dominated much of the 1970's. We need to respect children and young people again, intensify our resources on behalf of their development and support their parents who wish for them the very best that our nation can provide.

TRENDS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS IN RESEARCH ON LEARNING AND SCHOOLING¹

Robert Glaser

Learning Research and Development Center
University of Pittsburgh

The boundaries between basic and applied research are becoming increasingly blurred for many psychologists now studying the educational process. Examination of recent work on the nature and development of human knowledge and intellectual skills makes it apparent that this research is both fundamental in character and, at the same time, directed toward practical understanding. An interactive network between behavioral science and education appears to be developing in a strong way. Examples of such research are presented in this paper to illustrate this point. This discussion should indicate that in the 1980's, research relevant to education will involve both strong interactions with an advancing science of human cognition and increasingly sophisticated analyses of schooling.

A major reason for this surge of activity is the capability of current psychological theory for investigating complex thought processes, coupled with the conviction that the interaction between basic and applied research can be mutually beneficial for society and for science. The trend is apparent in many different fields of psychology, including the study of learning, performance, development, the processes of schooling, and methodologies of data analysis. On the side of education, practitioners and their constituencies are demanding useful information

¹In early drafts of this paper, I profited from the inputs of my colleagues James Greeno, Alan Lesgold, William Cooley, Margaret Wang, and Kathleen Corsale. Changes in the final draft were suggested by Mary Beth Curtis. None of these individuals are responsible for my interpretations.

for policy analysis and decision making. Questions are being raised about the rationale and utility of curriculum materials, the assessment of achievement, and the organization of instruction. Classroom processes are being analyzed in detail including the effects of the actual amount of time allotted to various subject matters, and the planned and unplanned events that result when new curricula are implemented. Analysis is being undertaken of how education is monitored through placement tests and competence examinations. New methodologies oriented toward describing causal relationships in the educational process offer the possibility for improved understanding of the conduct of schooling.

In this paper, I concentrate on cognitive psychological research on school subjects using as illustration work in reading, mathematics, and aptitude for learning. For reasons of time and space, I, unfortunately, slight the growing amount of research by educational researchers and social scientists on evaluation and teaching practices in schools and classrooms. In this latter respect, I only allude to two areas of general interest--achievement measurement and school process studies--to indicate the possibility of articulation between global studies of school systems and specific studies of human cognition and performance.

Reading and the Comprehension of Text

Reading processes have been carefully investigated in both laboratory and classroom settings (e.g., Frederiksen, in press; LaBerge & Samuels, 1974; Perfetti & Lesgold, 1977, in press; Resnick & Weaver, in press). At the present time, a good deal is known about the psychological processes involved when individuals must translate printed symbols into spoken language. Children come into the classroom with skills of a spoken language, and an initial activity in learning to read involves learning the new visual mode

of receiving language--that is, the process of decoding from print to sound. Enough is known about the psychological aspects of this process so that many researchers are now moving into strong development work, analyzing teaching practices and instructional materials in terms of what is known about the decoding process (Beck & McCaslin, 1978).

It is also true, however, that learning to read is dependent on getting meaning out of what is read, but the ability to use and learn from language has been less systematically studied than decoding. At the present time, the long-standing debate about the relative importance of decoding instruction and experience with language appears to be decreasing. This is occurring in recognition of the fact that competition between the two is an essential component of learning to read. Learning to decode requires a controlled vocabulary, and developing language experience requires a richer language base which matches the child's actual life experiences and understanding. This conflict between simplification and richness is now seen as a normal state of affairs around which instruction has to be designed in a systematically effective way. With this understanding, the practical problem becomes one of technical development. Teaching practices and materials that appear to solve the problem need to be systematically analyzed and studied both to assess their claims and to learn from their art. Thus, beginning reading is now largely (certainly not entirely) a development problem that requires work that is difficult, but that is not submerged because of lack of knowledge.

After the primary grades, as expectations for language use become more sophisticated, there is no clear evidence supporting the superiority of prior use of either decoding or language approaches to instruction. There is little, if any, evidence that too much emphasis on decoding depresses

eventual comprehension. Neither is there evidence that once decoding skills are learned, other reading problems are alleviated. However, there are data to suggest that decoding and comprehension are interdependent. If too much effort must be invested in decoding, the speed and ease of comprehension is depressed, and at the upper levels of elementary school and high school, poor comprehenders may display decoding deficiencies that interfere with comprehension (Resnick & Weaver, in press). One implication of this for the future is that the degree of efficiency that comprehension demands of decoding processes must be assessed. A conceivable outcome of this work is that new kinds of diagnostic tests will be developed--tests that assess the speed and efficiency of decoding and the extent to which decoding skills reach a level where comprehension can readily occur (Lesgold, Resnick, & Beck, 1978; Resnick & Beck, 1976).

In contrast to the initial steps in reading, a lack of knowledge is apparent with respect to the more advanced stages of comprehending, such as using text in order to learn from it, and analyzing ideas (Sticht, Beck, Hauke, Kleiman, & James, 1974). This kind of skill has not been as carefully studied as the more "mechanical" aspects of the stages of early reading. But interesting research is being pursued on these upper levels of comprehension, and there is direct concern with the use of written language as a vehicle of thought. In general, the work going on can be characterized in terms of three present research themes that shall be briefly described: (a) comprehension as the construction of knowledge, (b) the structure of text, and (c) reading as the acquisition of a skill.

Let us look first at comprehension as the construction of knowledge. This first theme reflects a change from viewing comprehension as a passive process to viewing it as an active one. In this latter view, comprehension

involves using what one already knows to remember and get new information from what is being read (Anderson, 1976; Bartlett, 1932; Bransford & Franks, 1971; Lenat, 1976; Minsky, 1975; Spillich, Vesonder, Chiesi, & Voss, 1979). One implication of this concept for future efforts on the teaching of reading is that careful attention needs to be paid to both (a) the relationship between an individual's familiarity with the knowledge domain in a reading passage, and (b) the influence of this knowledge on developing skills that enable a text to be read and understood. Disparities between the content of elementary reading texts and the knowledge that a child brings to school result from a lack of attention to this relationship.

A second theme is represented by work on the structure of text (Kintsch, 1977; Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Rumelhart, 1975; van Dijk, 1977). Research of this kind is beginning to emphasize that there are many patterns of text, just as there are many kinds of sentences. There are specifiable structures for narrative tales, scientific texts, rational arguments, and reporting of events. The implication of this for the future is that reading curricula can more systematically include the teaching of various forms of text.

There are two potential contributions to reading instruction that can follow from the above research themes--comprehension as construction of knowledge and the structure of text. First, as we attend to the relationship between a child's background knowledge and the learning of comprehension skills, we will understand more about the assumed knowledge and forms for communication that come from different experiences. As a result, we should be able to teach to these differences with more sensitivity. Secondly, this new research can provide a basis for determining what kinds of skills are important in reading different forms of text, such as newspapers, tax

forms, history books, instructional manuals, etc. These distinctions can be explicitly taught to individuals so that they can adjust and tune particular reading skills accordingly.

A third theme concerns the conception of reading as the long-term acquisition of a skill. As a result of current work, an old area in psychology concerned with skill acquisition is being reemphasized. A central question involved is how expertise develops, and what is the nature of expert skill. In the past, educational researchers have emphasized the importance of readiness skills and prerequisites for learning; however, they have devoted less attention to understanding expert performance learned over the long term. It appears that we have attended too much to the short run in learning and are now coming to appreciate more fully how much training and practice a major skill requires before high levels of competence are attained (Chi & Glaser, in press; Larkin, 1978; Simon & Simon, 1978). The development of skill toward progressively higher levels of expertise often takes longer than we think, and investigation of this problem relates directly to the use of time in a school day and to practice out of school. Attention to the aspects of long-term skill development will probably contribute to cracking the problem of what happens to reading achievement after the second or third grade. Studies show that the effects of better primary curricula disappear for many children in the later years of elementary schooling. Detailed and expensive studies of the same children over a period of time will be required to find out why some fall behind and what characteristics of early reading performance are predictive of future problems.

Mathematical Skill and Understanding

Now let us take a look at what is happening in the investigation of mathematical skill and understanding. A skill versus understanding debate

like that in the field of reading has also been present in mathematics instruction since early in this century (Brownell, 1928). The debate is characterized by polarity and tension between emphasis on the learning of procedural rules for solving problems on the one hand, and emphasis on "meaningful" instruction and mathematical "understanding" on the other. In recent years, the work on computational rules has been influenced by research on computer instructional systems that seek to provide maximally effective drill and practice programs. The work on meaningful instruction derives in large part from the influence of Piaget and from the Woods Hole (Bruner, 1960) and Cambridge (Goals for School Mathematics, 1963) conferences that led to recommendations for teaching the concepts of mathematics as a foundation of understanding. These influences contributed to the curriculum reform of the 1960's and the label "new math." Today, the skill versus understanding debate appears to be active again as evidenced by the concern over the effects of the new math curricula (which may, in reality, be a concern for how well these curricula have been implemented), and the "back-to-basics" movement (although this movement has many different meanings). The interrelationship between the use of rules and understanding is also an active research area in the study of human cognition.

A report by the National Advisory Committee on Mathematical Education (1975) addresses this issue in the context of needed research and development for K through 12 school mathematics. A major policy recommendation of the committee is called "anti-dichotomy." This recommendation, in summary, states that in the introduction and support of mathematics programs, neither those responsible nor the general public ought to allow themselves to be manipulated into "false choices between the old and the new in mathematics, skills and concepts, structure and problem solving" (p. 136). The committee

suggests that the core of every mathematics program should judiciously combine both elements of each pair, with the appropriate balance determined by the nature and goals of a program. Deploring the polarization of issues as uncommunicative and unproductive, the report proposes limiting the term "new math" to the developments during the period 1955 to 1975. Implicit in this recommendation is a recognition of the need for research on the nature of mathematics as a human cognitive performance. This requirement articulates well with recent research developments on the nature of mathematical knowledge and problem solving, and on how skill and understanding in mathematics are acquired. Investigations are being carried out in the fields of cognitive psychology, computer simulation, and artificial intelligence. Scientists in these various fields now see the field of mathematics, because of its more structured and transparent content relative to other subject-matter areas, as a domain in which their work will be able to make strong contributions to instruction (Anderson, 1976; Greeno, 1978; Norman & Rumelhart, 1975; Schank & Abelson, 1977).

Computation and problem-solving skills are being investigated with the new concepts and methods that are available for analyzing in detail the nature of cognitive processes (Brown & Burton, 1978; Gelman & Gallistel, 1978; Newell & Simon, 1972). With respect to the skills of computation, the general belief that "practice makes perfect" is being carefully examined. This belief is true only insofar as practice is necessary, but not sufficient, for developing skills. Children can practice errors and misconceptions, or practice in ways that do not produce advances in skillful organized performance. Many errors that occur do so not because of a simple lack of knowledge or inattention on the part of the child, but rather because of sensible misconceptions or use of incorrect rules. With this in mind, research effort

is currently being devoted to the study and development of sophisticated diagnostic materials--materials that do more than test for correct or incorrect answers and assist in finding "bugs" and misconceptions in children's knowledge. Work of this kind will help teachers to become aware of systematic bases for errors that need to be monitored when a learner is reaching toward the next stage of learning (Brown & Burton, 1978).

In the area of problem solving, certain results indicate that a student's proficiency involves sophisticated cognitive strategies that should be recognized and explicitly taught. For example, detailed analyses of problem solving in geometry have indicated that three kinds of knowledge are involved: (a) knowledge of the similarities and differences between geometric objects, such as points, line segments, angles, and so forth; (b) knowledge that is used to make inferences and to prove theorems, e.g., "corresponding angles are congruent," or "the sum of the angles of a triangle is 180 degrees"; and (c) strategic knowledge that is used to set goals, form plans and, in general, to organize activity on the problem (Greeno, 1978).

In the context of classroom instruction, in teaching and in textbooks, the first two kinds of knowledge just mentioned are explicitly taught, but the third is not. The first kind of knowledge, required for recognizing the pattern of geometric objects, is a skill that is usually instructed with diagrams and exercises to give practice in identifying the visual features and relationships that students need to perceive. The second kind of knowledge required in making inferences during problem solving is also communicated through explicit instruction in the classroom and in textbooks. However, the third kind of knowledge, strategies used in setting goals and formulating plans, is not explicitly a part of instruction

in the content of geometry. This strategic knowledge is generally relegated to the student's general ability (or intelligence) to apply the knowledge that is actually taught. An alternate view, however, is that such strategic problem solving also should be explicitly taught. The strategic knowledge needed for problem solving can be learned and should be considered as a part of knowing that skill. If this is indeed the case, then a problem for instructional research is to investigate ways in which these strategies can be taught so that they are fostered in students who are not able to readily induce them. Research of this kind is now seen as an important aspect of mathematics instruction and the study of problem solving. A related point is that excellent teachers, by virtue of the way in which they select and organize examples and problems in their teaching, have implicit systematic ways of teaching strategic knowledge. This expertise should be studied in detail so that it can be specified and generally transmitted to others.

In the context of the "anti-dichotomy" recommendation and present research efforts, it should be pointed out that the old distinction between procedural rules and understanding is undergoing careful study. Simply stating that this is a false dichotomy will not make it so. What is required is understanding the relationships between these two forms of knowledge. At the present time, work in cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence is developing new insights into this problem. If these investigations are successful, then it should be possible to override the debate on the rule-versus-understanding issue. The ways in which the two domains of knowledge reinforce and facilitate each other will be made more explicit so that relevant understanding and the use of rules in mathematical procedures can be more properly balanced in school programs.

Aptitude and Intelligence

Past research and development on aptitude and intelligence have led to technological advances which have been designed to serve the established patterns of schooling. However, at the present time, this technology may no longer be appropriate for the new values and new conceptions of the educational process. This realization has resulted in stopgap measures such as the suspension of standardized intelligence testing, the attempt at quick design of diagnostic assessment instruments, and changes in selection and entrance procedures. Unfortunately, many of these immediate measures can be successful if and only if there are accompanying changes in the patterns of schooling. For example, it is difficult to see any significant accomplishments resulting from relaxing the entrance requirements to a college or mainstreaming "learning disabled" children to a classroom without making the instructional process more flexible so that the time and tactics of instruction can be varied for different individuals. Research and analysis is proceeding along these lines at the level of school management and teaching process (e.g., Brophy & Everetson, 1976; Cross, 1975; Doyle, 1977; Gage, 1978; Glaser, 1977).

Researchers on intelligence and aptitude are uncomfortable with the state of the art for a number of reasons. In general, it is clear that the intelligence tests and measures of verbal and quantitative aptitude used in schools measure the kind of intellectual performance that can be most accurately called "general scholastic ability." We know that the abilities that are tested are related to success in school, but we also know that this kind of knowledge will not provide the understanding that is required to encourage, enhance, or to remediate these abilities for learning. More specifically, current doubts and dissatisfaction with

tests that measure abilities for learning appear to stem from three main sources: (a) Given our present techniques and theoretical understanding of the abilities measured, and given the usual forms of testing, we have reached a plateau of efficiency, such that efforts to improve current tests have run into diminishing returns. (b) The tests for the most part provide minimal information--essentially information useful for go/no go selective decisions about entrance into a program, but not diagnostic enough to affect the conduct of instruction. To be considered adequate, diagnostic measures should assess differences in cognitive abilities and acquired knowledge that indicate how schools can adapt their environments for learning to diverse individual needs. (c) Finally, from a scientific point of view, there is the recognition that current test theory and technique have not made contact with new developments in the psychology of learning and cognition. Modern psychological theory may be able to bring us closer to understanding what underlies the abilities for learning that contribute to success in school.

With the above needs in mind, programs of research have been designed to bring the concepts and methods of cognitive psychology to bear on the analysis of the abilities that aptitude and intelligence tests are measuring (Carroll, 1976; Estes, 1974; Hunt, Frost, & Lunneborg, 1973; Pellegrino & Glaser, 1979, in press; Snow, in press; Sternberg, 1977). In the initial phases of research of this kind, the items from the tests become the object of theoretical and experimental analysis. The immediate objectives are to analyze the items in terms of the knowledge and skills that are required to answer them correctly, and then to use this analysis for understanding what underlies incorrect answers. The subsequent task is to conduct instructional experiments where the objective is not to train individuals

to score higher on these tests, but to develop practical understanding of how the cognitive functions that underlie skill in learning, and that contribute to successful performance in school, can be directly or indirectly influenced.

In general, the cognitive analysis of aptitude and intelligence previews the kind of research effort that must be undertaken before new measures of intelligence, aptitude, and human performance "will move many psychometric predictions from static statements about the probability of success to dynamic statements about what can be done to increase the likelihood of success" (Hunt, et al., 1973, p. 116). Hopefully, new concepts of aptitude and intelligence that emphasize the cognitive processes of human performance will foster the development of educational possibilities that increase individual accomplishments.

Achievement Measurement

Questions about achievement testing are arising from all sides. How is the information obtained from achievement tests used in schools to guide instruction and to make administrative decisions? How is the measurement of achievement related to demands for standards (Glass, 1978)? What do grade-level scores tell us about children's performance that can be used to influence teaching practices? What does it mean, in terms of demonstrated competence, when a child progresses from a grade-level score of 6 to 6 years, 8 months; what is the practical significance of this difference? These and other questions are being responded to in a number of ways, including the development of programs of assessment and competency-based testing. Hopefully, this development will be accompanied by thoughtful and reasonably long-term study of the effective design and implementation of such programs. Their impact on changes in instruction and school

management and the social consequences of these testing programs certainly need to be studied.

A second response to the demands for the effective assessment of achievement has been increased concern with the theory and technology of achievement measurement. What psychologists know best is the technology of designing tests for the prediction of success in school, and this technology has led to the construction of tests used for selective purposes. In contrast, the theory of achievement testing and techniques for the diagnosis of an individual's attained knowledge and learning resulting from instruction are less well developed (Hambleton, Swaminathan, Algina, & Coulson, 1978; Popham, 1978). Confusion in this area has arisen to a large extent because of the attempt to use concepts and techniques developed for aptitude and intelligence testing for the measurement of the outcomes of learning. It is one task to design a test for the purposes of predicting school performance, but a different task to develop adequate measures of school performance itself. In the future, it is to be anticipated that research on the development of adequate performance measures and on the stages of subject-matter knowledge, in areas such as text comprehension and mathematical skill, will contribute to new practices for assessing competence. These practices should result in information that is indicative of the details of attained individual abilities, and thereby effectively integrate the information obtained from tests with the guidance of learning.

School Processes

Related to the guidance of learning is also the growing body of research which concentrates on classroom practices and macro-instructional

processes.² This research is becoming increasingly sophisticated with respect to the investigation of classroom processes through detailed analyses of the conditions under which learning takes place in school contexts. Past studies designed to evaluate curriculum innovations attempted to describe school learning by relating the nature of student input to the quality of student output, and only very generally described the processes intervening between the two. In curriculum implementation studies, detailed information was rarely obtained about differences between effective and less effective classroom processes in terms of some model of classroom instruction. Models are now being developed that attempt to explain the variation obtained in achievement measures in terms of the initial ability of the student, classroom process variables, and the interaction between the two. This work is being facilitated by the use of new statistical and methodological techniques developed for observational research and field experimentation. In the past, most methodological development in experimental design was devoted to procedures to be used in controlled laboratory situations. Attention is now being paid to the development of techniques that apply more directly to school variables and the allocation of educational effort (Cooley, 1978).

Work along these lines involves systematic definition of the details of important dimensions of classroom instruction (Bloom, 1976; Brophy & Everetson, 1976; Brophy & Good, 1974; Carroll, 1963; Cooley, 1978; Cooley & Leinhardt, 1975; Koehler, 1978; Rosenshine, 1978; Stallings, 1975; Suppes, Macken, & Zanotti, 1978; Wiley & Harnischfeger, 1974). What is being

² The term "macro" is used here to contrast the level of variables studied in this area with the micro-processes of cognition discussed earlier. Both levels of analysis and their interrelationships need to be rigorously studied for an effective understanding of learning and schooling.

studied no longer are inadequately defined and implemented curricula, but rather, the components of operating programs that actually contribute to or detract from classroom effectiveness. These analyses provide information for practical implementation decisions and also contribute knowledge to potential theories of classroom teaching practices. The development to be anticipated is a growing macro-theory of teaching and instruction: "macro" in the sense that it is concerned with the large practical variables dealt with in schools such as the allocation and efficient use of time, the structure of classroom management, the nature of teacher feedback and reinforcement to the student, the organizational pattern of teacher-student interaction, the relationship between what is taught and what is tested, the degree of classroom flexibility required for adapting to learner background, and the details of curriculum materials as these relate to teaching practice and student achievement. Such variables need to be part of a theory of teaching in the same way that the large variables of economic theory are applied to economic change. As theory at this level develops, it will be undergirded by the more micro-studies of human thinking, problem solving, and the learning of school subjects. It is possible that, in the future, the two levels, macro- and micro-investigations, will become increasingly articulated in studies of classroom learning and the development of human cognition.

Concluding Remarks

The trends and research questions briefly covered in this paper reflect the conviction that education no longer can be content to be a major profession in our society whose practices are little influenced by developments in science and technology. This state of affairs is no longer tolerable under the press of the current problems of education and is no

longer possible in the light of the recent developments in the behavioral and social sciences. In the past 15 years, these sciences have moved strongly into the study of skilled and complex human performance and into the analysis of institutional processes relevant to the educational enterprise. Reading and mathematics ability, learning and thinking, and general problem-solving skills are being studied with powerful new techniques. Increased understanding is being obtained about the influence of conditions of life and schooling upon the development of essential literacy and intellectual competence in children and adults. Long-term studies of the organizational patterns of education and the processes of schooling are now being carried out in the context of pressures for the assessment of achievement and for the evaluation of institutional effectiveness.

Two sources of information--increasing understanding of human learning and performance, and analysis of the outcomes of schooling and the effective use of educational resources--will undoubtedly influence policies and patterns of education. Organizational inertia will be overcome by the increased amount of information available to parents, students, and teachers--particularly with respect to the capability of the educational institutions to adapt to the diversity of individuals they serve and to provide both quality and equality in education. In the 1980's, it seems likely that the educational profession will begin to receive the scientific support that should undergird a strong profession.

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Education and Global Problems:A Note of Cautious Hope

by James W. BOTKIN
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The latest report to The Club of Rome, entitled No Limits to Learning: Bridging the Human Gap, sounds a note of cautious hope that human potential, consciously cultivated through new forms of learning and education, can lead to significant improvement in the presently deteriorating human condition.

The report views learning "globally" - i.e., all-encompassing and worldwide. It discusses both conscious and unconscious learning processes occurring through schools, media, work, family, and throughout society. It considers the problems and opportunities for learning in the industrial countries (the so-called "North"), where schooling and media have grown to huge proportions, and also in the developing countries (the so-called "South"), where traditional learning was and is still being indiscriminately abandoned.

The authors criticize the widespread tendency to rely on "learning by shock", which in the context of global issues is a formula for disaster. Instead of largely unconscious adaptation to crises and events, the report pleads for conscious anticipation of diverse and desirable futures. To achieve this fundamental shift will require what the authors term "innovative learning" - preparing people to act in concert in new, possibly unprecedented, situations. Elementary and secondary schools, in America as elsewhere, have a key role to play in this preparation.

In contrast to innovative learning, schools and the media are dispensing "maintenance learning" - the learning of fixed rules for recurring situations which may be necessary but will also be insufficient for a future increasingly characterized by global problems. Indeed, the sole reliance on maintenance learning is blocking the emergence of innovative learning and by consequence leading inevitably and unacceptably to learning by shock.

The report examines the role of values and human relations, of power and institutional rigidities, and of irrelevance and waste in preserving and propagating a maintenance learning syndrome in systems of education. The authors refuse to consider a "world blueprint for educational action", insisting that each society will have to develop its own paths to innovative learning. They do, however, offer some illustrations - concerning ethical dimensions to literacy and functional literacy, relating elementary and secondary schools to the world of work, the role of the university, integrative programs for the media, and new proposals for international, interdisciplinary research in learning. These demonstrate the two key criteria comprising innovative learning: anticipation and participation.

The product of three research teams from first, second, and third worlds and written by James W. Botkin (USA), Mahdi Elmandjra (Morocco), and Mircea Malitza (Romania), the report was presented to The Club of Rome in June, 1979 in Salzburg, Austria, and has just been released in English by Pergamon Press, Oxford, England. Versions in German and Spanish have also appeared, and others in Japanese, Arabic, French, Finnish, Italian, and Dutch are in progress. What follows here is a synopsis of some of the main ideas of the learning report to The Club of Rome as formulated by its American co-author, James Botkin.*

* Dr. James W. Botkin is currently an associate of the International Center for Integrative Studies, 45 West 18th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

The Changed Human Condition: The Emergence of a World Problematique and a Human Gap

Humanity is entering a period of extreme alternatives. Unprecedented human fulfillment and ultimate catastrophe are both possible. Scientific and technological advancement have brought unparalleled benefits, knowledge, and power - yet people today seem unable to grasp the meaning of their actions, leading to personal, societal, and global confusion. This incapacity to cope with currently accelerating rates of change is the root meaning of the "human gap".

The gap is the distance between growing complexity and our capacity to cope with it. It is a human gap, because it is a dichotomy between an accelerating complexity of our own making and a lagging development of our own capacities.

This vulnerable situation is magnified by an equally alarming problem - the emergence and acceleration of a "world problematique", identified nearly a decade ago by The Club of Rome as an enormous tangle of problems in sectors such as energy, population, and food which confront us with unexpected complexity. While the techno-scientific enterprise has made some progress in addressing these global issues, its efforts are neither systematically nor globally coordinated. Seldom if ever is our vast assortment of resources mobilized across academic disciplines and national boundaries toward pursuit of common global goals on a long-term basis. The few existing evaluations or forecasts are narrow, fragmented, or short term. As a consequence, humanity remains pitifully unprepared to cope with formidable challenges on the immediate horizon, and the overall human condition continues to deteriorate.

The Role of Learning and Education

Whether this deteriorating situation can be reversed depends on another major - and decisive - factor: human learning. It will take new forms of learning to help bridge the human gap by mobilizing our understanding and actions in order to come to grips with the world problematique.

"Learning", as used here, has to be understood in a broad sense. It is taken to signify a whole approach, both to knowledge and to life, that emphasizes human initiative. It may occur consciously, or often unconsciously, usually from experiencing real-life situations, although simulated or imagined situations can also induce learning. Probably every individual in the world, whether schooled or not, experiences the process of learning - and probably none of us at present are learning at the levels, intensities, and speeds needed to cope with the complexities of modern life. Thus learning goes beyond what conventional terms like education and schooling imply. This is not to ignore formal education but to stress the important, sometimes predominant, role of other factors inherent to the learning process.

Those concerned with education must face a stark reality. Conventional schooling - a huge enterprise which directly occupies one of every six inhabitants of the planet and is supported by over \$400 billion dollars annually -- has failed to prevent deterioration in the human condition and indeed is contributing to a widening of the human gap.

This was not always so. History shows that in the past human learning has been largely successful. Throughout its cultural evolution, humanity has adapted to its environment, successfully if often unconsciously shaping its surroundings in ways that ensured survival of the species and that gradually increased the well-being of larger and larger numbers of its kind.

Maintenance, Shock, and Innovative Learning

Today, serious doubt must be raised as to whether conventional human learning processes are still adequate. Traditionally, societies and individuals have adopted a pattern of continuous maintenance learning interrupted by short periods of innovation stimulated largely by the shock of external events. Maintenance learning is the acquisition of fixed outlooks, methods, and rules for dealing with known and recurring situations. It enhances our problem-solving ability for problems that are given. It is the type of learning designed to maintain an existing system or an established way of life. Maintenance learning is, and will continue to be, indispensable to the functioning and stability of every society.

But for long-term survival, particularly in times of turbulence, change, or discontinuity, another type of learning is equally essential. It is the type of learning that can bring change, renewal, restructuring, and problem reformulation - and which can be called innovative learning.

Throughout history, the conventional formula used to stimulate innovative learning has been to rely on the shock of events. Sudden scarcity or catastrophe have interrupted the flow of maintenance learning and acted - painfully but effectively - as ultimate teachers. Even up to the present moment, humanity continues to wait for events and crises that would catalyze or impose this primitive learning by shock. But under current conditions of global uncertainty, learning by shock is a formula for disaster.

The conventional pattern of maintenance/shock learning is likely, if unchecked, to lead to one or more of the following consequences: (a) The loss of control over events and crises will lead to extremely costly shocks, one of which could possibly be fatal. (b) The long lag times of maintenance learning virtually guarantees the sacrificing of options needed to avert a whole series of recurring crises. (c) The reliance on expertise and short time periods intrinsic to learning by shock will marginalize and alienate more and more people. (d) The incapacity quickly to reconcile value conflict under crisis conditions will lead to the loss of human dignity and of individual fulfillment.

The net result of following any one of these paths is that humanity persistently will lag behind events and be subjected to the whims of crisis. The fundamental question that this prospect raises is whether humanity can learn to guide its own destiny, or whether events and crises will determine the human condition.

A Conceptual Framework for Innovative Learning

The main purpose of this report to The Club of Rome is to initiate debate on learning and the future of humanity centered around the concept of innovative learning and its chief features. We do not assert that innovative learning

by itself will solve any of the pressing issues. What we do assert is that innovative learning is a necessary means of preparing individuals and societies to act in concert in new situations, especially those that have been, and continue to be, created by humanity itself. Innovative learning is an indispensable prerequisite to resolving any of the global issues. This is not to say, however, that other actions involving political power, technology, economics, and so on will not also make instrumental contributions-although innovative learning needs to underlie and penetrate these and other actions, as well.

Innovative learning consists of two key elements: anticipation and participation.

Anticipation is the capacity to face new possibly unprecedented situations; it is the acid test for innovative learning processes. Anticipatory learning stresses preparation for future alternatives, not adaptation to the present. Indeed it goes beyond foreseeing or choosing among desirable trends and averting catastrophic ones; it is also the creating of new alternatives. Anticipation involves imagination, but it equally is based on hard fact. In non-anticipatory, adaptive learning, all we do is "react", delaying the search for answers until it may be too late to implement solutions. Under the influence of maintenance learning, those who should be alarmed are not moved by gradual deterioration. Then when shock occurs and events roll like thunder people finally stand up to look for the lightning that has already passed.

Participation is a term that powerfully and controversially evokes the idea of the individual's and people's aspirations to be partners in decision-making, to strive for equality, and to reject unduly limiting roles. The demands for participation have become nearly universal and are being felt on every level from local to global. Nation states, especially in the Third World, are demanding to participate on an equitable basis in the world decisions that affect them - particularly on policies concerning global issues. Groups of every definition are asserting themselves around the world and renouncing marginal positions or subordinated status with respect to power centers. Rural populations are aspiring to urban-like facilities; factory workers seek participation in management; students and faculties demand a voice in administering important school policy; women are demanding equality with men. It is the age of rights and significantly not yet the age of responsibilities. An intrinsic goal of effective participation will have to be an interweaving of the demand for rights with an offer to fulfill obligations.

If participation is to be effective, it will be essential that those who hold power do not block innovative learning. A major task of learning in the next decades will be learning how to participate effectively. For in too many instances, "participation" as we know it today is in crisis. Some participants are more skilled at blocking proposed plans than they are in formulating constructive alternatives. Too much participation is shortsighted, which may produce counter-productive results when anticipation is lacking.

Yet not "participating" - remaining apathetic instead of empathetic or closed rather than communicative - makes one part of the problem. We are at the end of a time when decisions could be handed from the top down. A critical mass of people on an unparalleled world scale will have to work

together, not so much to "solve" global issues as to generate a common understanding of them and a shared will power to address them. Activating the latent potential of innovative learning present in the world system hinges largely on the degree of effective participation at international, national, and local levels.

The aims of innovative learning are survival and human dignity. To put human survival in the forefront as the first purpose of learning signifies that this is not a metaphysical question; rather, learning has become a life and death matter. But survival at any price is not a sufficient ideal or cause. One must go beyond "submitting in order to survive". Human dignity is designated as the "beyond survival" goal. If dignity is a wide term with many meanings, it is taken here to stand for self-respect, for mutual respect for individuals in culturally diverse societies, and for the respect accorded to humanity as a whole.

Causes and Consequences of Blocking Innovative Learning

There are many reasons why anticipatory and participatory learning is blocked and prevented from asserting its proper influence. First and foremost is the misuse of power, the best example of which is the arms race. Not only are financial resources immobilized when sixty times as much is spent in training each soldier as in educating each child, but intellectual resources are being diverted from constructive to "defensive" uses as well. Nearly half of all scientists in the world are engaged in military related research, which consumes more public resources than all the research on education, health, energy, and food combined. And the secrecy and distrust intrinsic to the military "mystique" inevitably infects our learning. For example, when information and data about communications, policies, energy plans, food reserves, or population trends cannot be discussed openly, learning processes are clearly impeded. The military image evidently has as strong a hold over our mind as its command of money and power holds over our public resources.

The present neglect and misuse of television is another case of opportunities lost to enhance innovative learning. The world-wide "commercialization" of television - both the advertising/propaganda aspects of many TV programs as well as the indiscriminate importing of cheap, inappropriate and largely out-dated shows - is promoting a learning of the most stultifying maintenance type. The case of television is instructive, for it shows that the type of learning stimulated by a communications technology depends more on the structure of the industry than on the capabilities of the technology. At present, we stand on the verge of a virtual revolution in "telematics", that goes far beyond television. Filled with technological possibilities for learning heretofore unimagined, the benefits of the telectronics revolution will be lost if we fail to seize these fleeting chances to harness such technologies for constructive innovative purposes.

There are other, more subtle, blockages to innovative learning. One is our conceptions - or misconceptions - of learning itself. Two of the sciences destined to influence our thinking profoundly are biology and cybernetics. Dramatic developments in fields like genetic engineering and artificial intelligence will provide not only an escalating increase in knowledge and power but will bring with them certain, often implicit, implications for learning. Biology, for example, stresses a model of adaptive learning. In

describing evolution, some claim that the success of survival and penalty of extinction could be counted as lessons learned or missed. But the adaptive model is an expensive one: of the two billion species which at different times existed on earth, only two million are alive today.

Cybernetic models of learning likewise have their pitfalls. Values are all too often frozen into cybernetic models, or relegated to the level of mere facts. But the importance accorded to the role of values is what delineates innovative from maintenance learning. Moreover, computer modeling stresses problem-solving. We have become experts, it seems, at solving problems within a given set without developing an equal ability to foresee and identify problems beyond the immediately familiar horizons.

The major consequences of blocking innovative learning are irrelevance and waste. The long lag times associated with maintenance learning virtually guarantee the obsolescence of children before they become adults. And in Third World countries which have carbon copy systems of industrial education, the irrelevance is doubly serious.

The waste of human learning potential is even more pronounced. To cite just two examples, the case of women and the problem of the rising number of illiterates is symptomatic of the increasingly unbalanced and despairingly inert system of education preoccupied with maintenance learning.

The few exceptions to this maintenance system of schools, media, and social rigidities seem to be found not in the conventional institutions of society but in the newly emerging constituencies forming around international non-governmental organizations. The "NGOs", as they are known, probably have been the most successful in promoting innovative learning of the anticipatory and participatory type.

Illustrations of a new learning perspective

While the processes by which humans learn is universal, the specific ways and means to improve learning will depend on the cultural context, where encouraging diversity is the key. No undifferentiated blueprint for a world program of learning is either feasible or desirable. Thus this report to The Club of Rome limits itself to several illustrations. Five are suggested:

(1) Literacy: to add an ethical dimension to "literacy", at the same time renewing efforts to eradicate illiteracy as conventionally defined. With the number of adults unable to read and write approaching one billion, it is unthinkable and unfair to ask them to share in the burdens of world issues. Yet they are the first to suffer food shortages, and are increasingly asked to "participate" in family planning schemes.

Rather than limiting illiteracy to this conventional view of Third World people who although unable to read and write may have highly developed ethical standards, a wider view which includes an ethical dimension to literacy would more accurately reflect why the human condition continues to deteriorate. Despite the difficulties inherent in articulating new measureable standards, efforts should be made to conceive of literacy as a means of increasing people's ethical and effective participation.

(2) School and life: to arrange for every child to be engaged on average, one day per week outside the school. The school's goal of preparation for life has turned to separation from life. One way to overcome this is for children to get an exposure to the world of work in order to increase relevance and to participate in as many diverse contexts as feasible. At least by age 12, children who had spent full time at school should be given appropriate duties in enterprises, service centers, research institutes or in public or community service organizations. Of course strict precautions would have to be taken to avoid misuse of the program to exploit child labor.

(3) University and society: to involve university students more directly in the developmental projects of society. Who for example in the developing countries is better placed than the universities to implement literacy programs? Could not the students be given credits equivalent to two semester courses if they make ten persons literate by the end of the academic year? Such programs need not, of course, be limited to literacy. They could apply to any of the areas such as environmental protection, preservation of the cultural heritage, water resources, health and sanitation, land conservation, and so on. While we recognize the need for universities to balance action with reflection, a majority of the world's 5000 universities and 40 million university students have become too remote from the reality surrounding them.

(4) Mass media and the future: to devise programs that encourage integrative thinking. Every effort should be made to prepare for the extraordinary communications and man-machine dialogue which developments in "telematics" and "teletronics" are bringing. At least a third or more of efforts in this field should be devoted to educational programs that encourage innovative learning and more specifically, integrative and holistic thinking. An ombudsman should monitor for a sufficient number and quality of programs appropriate to each given country.

(5) Learning research: to establish an international interdisciplinary program of research on learning. The challenge is by the end of the century to achieve breakthroughs that would enhance our presently fragmented, incomplete, and inadequate knowledge of how learning works. The two cornerstones of this undertaking could be neurophysiological brain research and sociopsychological research - with both according due weight to cultural and pedagogical implications of learning. This program could be similar to ones which UNESCO has undertaken for the biosphere (MAB) or for scientific and technological information (UNISIST). This initiative could be launched in several parts of the world at once, and care should be taken to de-couple the program from the constraints of excessive bureaucracy.

Concluding Notes:

Learning, if directed more towards enhancing individual and societal anticipation and participation, will be an indispensable prerequisite in preparing humanity for its own future. This is a positive sign, for it indicates that human potential can be guided towards improving the human condition. Thus we conclude on a note of optimism: for all practical purposes, there seem to be no limits to learning - even though in a theoretical sense some absolute limits surely must exist. But the optimism must be tempered by caution. While the theoretical limits, if any, to human potential do not seem to come into question presently, there is still a very real question whether innovative learning will be allowed to play the role it could and should.

Sister Mary Sarah Fesenmeyer
 Dean
 School of Education and Human Services, St. John's University
LEARNING AND AUTHORITY

Part I

The public attitude toward low achievement in the elementary and secondary schools has shifted from a belief that national origins, poverty, religious beliefs, and over-crowded homes result in low achievement to a strong position which assigns causality directly to the schools, the teachers, and the teaching content and methodologies being employed (Dunn and Dunn, 1978). The demand for accountability has indicated to the public that schools must produce literate, educated persons and that the taxpaying citizenry has a right to expect such a return on tax investments. Accountability is placed squarely on the schools and their personnel, and court actions of recent years have tended to support this contention.

Symptoms of educational decay are rampant. The public is constantly reminded of the high dropout rate, the functional illiterates who receive high school diplomas, the number of police required to maintain the security of schools, the grade inflation, and the list goes on. The malaise appears to be so widespread that serious educators are fearful that it can never be corrected. The entrenched bureaucracies which set policy seem so sluggish as to be unable to recognize the problems and totally incapable of remediating their own systems.

Actually, the symptoms of educational breakdown are manifestations of a deeper malady and that is the breakdown of authority relations in education. Copperman states:

Virtually every significant educational problem of the past decade results directly from the abrogation or subversion of normal educational authority. The authority relationship bonding teacher to student makes the educational process work. A number of societal forces have subverted the normal exercise of educational authority over the past ten years, causing a degeneration of the educational process (Copperman, 1978).

Copperman is not alone in his assessment of the decay of authority in the schools. Dornbusch's research relative to the low academic achievement of Chicano high school students supports the same phenomenon (Fernandes, Espinosa, and Dornbusch, 1975).

Dr. Diana Baumrind, a noted expert on child development, speaks to the problem of authority and the adolescent:

Adolescence is the time of life for the individual to come to terms with the reality principle. The universal experiences of loneliness, fear of failure, and insufficiency must be faced: they cannot be blocked indefinitely with drugs, sex, or for that matter, obsessive involvement in work. The adolescent must learn (if he ever is going to learn) how to tolerate delay, control rage and sexual desire, sublimate, think rationally, act responsibly, endure suffering, adjust to that which cannot be altered and serve the community. Because young persons today believe that they have or should have more options than they do, it is more difficult for them than it should be to endure situational and social imperfections. They feel as though conditions which they do not like are intolerable. They demand meaning, as though one generation can deliver meaning to another on a silver platter (Baumrind, 1968).

The generalization that the breakdown of the authority of the school is widespread must be taken seriously. No perceptive educator can take issue with this fact. And when the authority relationship has deteriorated the school cannot perform its stated function; the exceptional schools where good learning takes place are those which have maintained a proper authority balance among administrators, teachers, and students.

Furthermore, school authority is weakened by reason of the widespread and historical antipathy to authority which permeates American society. This nation was born in rebellion to the misuse of authority; a fear of authoritarian abuse has become a core part of the American heritage. Young people are imbued with a certain distrust of authority: nevertheless, the problems of schooling will not be solved until normal authority relations are reinstituted in the American educational system.

The function of the school is not to serve as an authoritarian institution with the limitations implied in authoritarianism. Rather the school is authoritative, with the relationship of teacher to student as the core authority concept. The adult with mature skills exercises his natural authority in the schooling process as he transmits knowledge and skills to the young. Copperman maintains that it is the function of the school to give its learners the freedom to function in the world which comes as a result of an adequate education. He contends that "it is the function of educators to train young people to become autonomously functioning adults. Autonomy is not something that can be given. Autonomy must be acquired" (Copperman, 1978).

There is ample evidence that school systems have renounced their authority and hence their responsibility to students. The critical question to be answered asks: What is being done to remedy the situation? Must teachers, administrators and parents despair of upgrading their schools?

A host of variables need to be considered in order to document the course of action for correcting the appalling conditions

in the schools. Philip Jackson refers to the fact that public school classrooms are characterized by "crowds" and "power" relationships (Jackson, 1968). Is it possible to restore authority in structures where so many people spend such long hours in close physical contact with so little privacy or freedom to pursue personal interests and goals?

Managing successfully the authority relationships in the complex institutions called schools must be the highest priority for all principals and teachers. It may be convenient and self-serving to fix blame on the bureaucracy, the School Board, the community. Actually, the strong principal with a well-motivated faculty can and must restore the authority relationship within the school. This does not imply that schools become overbearing, tyrannical or oppressive. Rather it suggests most emphatically that authority is necessary in any organization, including businesses, firms and human service agencies. The school is no exception and the behaviors of students, concurrent to their maturation levels, should be as responsible and controlled as those of the clients or participants in any other functioning organization.

Part II

The proper authority relationship in the schools can be restored when faculty and administration are willing to set standards and adhere to such standards. There is a body of knowledge and a basic set of skills which need to be transmitted to the young if they

are to have the minimum of survival skills for coping in a complex society. Teachers know what skills need to be taught, and they are accountable for upholding the standards of learning in the schooling process.

Upholding standards means that mastery learning is the norm or expectation which must be met. The concept of mastery learning is particularly noted at the skills level. All students must learn to read, to write, to express themselves well, and to compute. It is the task of the school to transmit these skills to all its students; unfortunately many pupils go through years of schooling without mastering the most rudimentary of skills acquisition.

Schools and teachers will recognize that skill transmission does not occur in the same way with all children. Research on learning is on-going. However, the level of sophistication in an understanding of learning theory is high. Schools can and should pursue the different modes of knowing and learning. New approaches to learning styles, now receiving wide attention through the work of a number of prominent researchers (Dunn and Dunn, 1978; Farr, 1971), should be fostered and developed. Recognising that children learn in a variety of ways challenges teachers to explore new methodologies and procedures, but it does not substitute for the maintenance of standards.

There must occur checkpoints in the system when children's achievement is monitored and, if necessary, remediated in depth. The present administrative grouping structure is completely outmoded; the usual practice of promoting children to another grade, irrespective

of achievement, is destructive and self-defeating. Rather, careful assessment is made at least twice per semester. When it becomes obvious that a child is not reading as he should, an alternative remediation must be provided immediately.

Given the low level of reading skills in many American schools, it is a necessity in many cases that reading clinics be established in each building. The child assigned to the reading clinic would spend at least one-half day under the tutelage of master clinicians with special training in the teaching of reading. The establishment of such clinics should be a high priority for educational funding, both at the Federal and state levels. It is necessary that a great deal of additional emphasis be placed on the transmission of reading skills, and the establishment of the reading clinics seems to be a necessity at this point.

The school needs to evaluate the accomplishment of its learners and confer carefully with parents as each checkpoint is reached. Not all children will require a placement in the reading clinic, but the school must inform the parents when such a need exists. Furthermore, the school can and will elicit the support and cooperation of the parents when such remediation is required. The school which is committed to maintaining its standards will provide the concentrated remediation needed for basic skill development. There are few children who cannot master the basic skills. It is up to the school to recognize problems very early and to provide the specialized services early in the schooling process. To simply advance children through a system of "grades," irrespective of mastery, is to eliminate standards, and to abrogate the authority of the school to achieve the goals which it has set for itself.

The problem of reading achievement appears at present to be the most serious in terms of skills development. Reading gains will inevitably lead to gains in writing and speaking. However, the mastery of writing, speaking and computational skills also must be treated within the framework of mastery. There must be learning centers, or specialized teachers, which provide a concentrated remediation experience until children have mastered basic skills and learning. Such schooling patterns may and probably will demand a rethinking of the structures by which education is delivered. Each school must so structure itself and utilize its resources to assure each child reaching his maximal achievement levels.

Not only must the school establish and maintain standards in order to restore its authority, it must also take seriously its role in developing the person of the learner. The whole matter of education for responsibility in living has come up for considerable discussion, and the literature is replete with theories and treatises in the area of moral education. It is totally unrealistic to assume that a school is "value-free" in its orientation. Any school which is willing to impose standards has already assumed a certain set of values which will impact on the person of the learner. Nor is the debate concerning church and state a relevant issue. The entire American system is based on the assumption that citizens will be moral and hold to traditional values. The study of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution confirms the values expectations of the Founding Fathers. A statement by the National Education Association issued in 1951 (Appendix A) states

clearly the role of the public school in moral or character education.

Gustafson describes the outcomes of moral education in this way:

The practical interest in moral education . . . is to make possible the development of persons who are capable of responsible moral action. We want them to accept their moral autonomy and to exercise their capacities to be agents in the on-going processes of human interaction. We want them to accept moral accountability for what they do and to accept responsibility for others: for persons to whom they are significantly related and for the course of events and the states of affairs of which they are part (Gustafson, 1970).

At a very high price courts are maintained and law enforcement agencies are established to assure the basic constitutional rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Citizens are expected to meet societal expectations which safeguard these rights. It should be clear that schools play a major role in developing persons who are willing to respect the rights of each American citizen as well as respect their own participation in a democratic society. It is hardly unconstitutional to inculcate basic respect for life, for property, for integrity. Young people must be made aware that the democracy functions well only when citizens are respectful of and observant of the values system which has been inculcated in our basic documents which bind us as a nation.

The theory and methodology of valuing has been developed considerably by the work of recent researchers. Schools must train the teachers to a new understanding of the valuing process. Values clarification technique has received considerable attention through the publications of Rath, Simon et al. Lawrence Kohlberg has developed a sophisticated model which lends itself well to classroom use. All of these educators have developed materials and curriculum which can

readily be adapted to classroom use. However, the issue is a vital one and a major one. If a school is to accept its role in values or character education, considerable planning and in-service training is needed. The approach to be followed is a pervasive one rather than a new layering on the present curriculum.

Few teachers are adequately prepared in values education, in spite of the plethora of writing in the field. A serious effort to remedy this situation should have a high priority in the planning office of every school or school district.

Education in this country will be vastly improved when the schools spell out their objectives and recognize their authority and accountability to see that these are achieved. There should be no turning back, nor tolerance for lack of achievement. If standards for academic performance are maintained, and if the person of the learner is required to grow and assume personal responsibility, schools will more than justify the faith and support of the American public.

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APPENDIX A

Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association. Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools. Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1951.

Values: moral and spiritual (pages 18-30)

1. Human Personality--The Basic Value

Among the values here proposed, the first is fundamental to all that follow. The basic moral and spiritual value in American life is the supreme importance of the individual personality.

The inherent worth of every human being is basic in the teachings of Christianity and of many other great religions. The individual personality can acquire a capacity for moral judgments and a sense of moral responsibility.

2. Moral Responsibility

If the individual personality is supreme, each person should feel responsible for the consequences of his own conduct.

Moral responsibility and self-discipline are marks of maturity.

3. Institutions as the Servants of Men

If the individual personality is supreme, institutional arrangements are the servants of mankind. Institutions justify their existence as they contribute to the growth, happiness and well-being of individuals.

4. Common Consent

If the individual personality is supreme, mutual consent is better than violence.

Voluntary cooperation, contrary to the idea of survival of the fittest, is essential to all forms of life. According to the American system of values, no partisan interest is authorized to overreach the popular will.

5. Devotion to Truth

If the individual personality is supreme, the human mind should be liberated by access to information and opinion.

Custom and complacency have deprived us of a sharp awareness of the morality of intellectual freedom. Yet, in terms of human history, the rights of a man to speak his mind, to worship according to conscience and training, and to have access to knowledge and divergent opinions are recent achievements.

6. Respect for Excellence

If the individual personality is supreme, excellence in mind, character, and creative ability should be fostered.

Every man is entitled to equal rights before the civil law; every man

should be governed equally by moral standards.

7. Moral Equality

If the individual personality is supreme, all persons should be judged by the same moral standards.

8. Brotherhood

If the individual personality is supreme, the concept of brotherhood should take precedence over selfish interests.

We seek to develop a self-reliant and industrious body of citizens, each of whom will earnestly strive to provide through his own efforts for the comfort and well-being of himself and those dependent upon him. Nevertheless, the care of those among us who may be prevented from doing this, is an inescapable moral responsibility of all citizens.

9. Pursuit of Happiness

If the individual personality is supreme, each person should have the greatest possible opportunity for the pursuit of happiness, provided only that such activities do not substantially interfere with the similar opportunities of others.

10. Spiritual Enrichment

If the individual personality is supreme, each person should be offered the emotional and spiritual experiences which transcend the materialistic aspects of life.

Moral values have consequences chiefly in social relationships. Spiritual values, however, take effect mainly in terms of inner emotions and sentiments.

CHAPTER III---Sanctions (pp. 37-48)

Although the moral and spiritual values in the preceding chapter are accepted by most Americans, wide differences of opinion exist with reference to their sanctions: that is, with reference to the reasons which people give for approving them.

Most Americans find the ultimate sanctions for their system of values in religious convictions.

Other Americans sanction their values chiefly in historical terms. They feel that values can be justified by their demonstrated success in promoting happiness through efficient social and political arrangements.

A great many other people have no clear ideas whatever as to sanctions; they accept values as they find them and conform passively to social pressures.

On neither pedagogical nor on ideological grounds can the schools ignore the problem of sanctions.

Sanctions:

Justice
Law
Property Rights
Integrity
Group Approval
Authority
Guidance
Religious beliefs

Sanctions Should Be Carefully Selected

In whatever manner we measure effectiveness, certain criteria may well be followed in using sanctions to teach moral and spiritual values.

In the first place, the sanctions used should not tend in any way to bring the constructive moral or religious teaching of the home into contempt or disrepute. A good teacher will not shrug aside the religious convictions of children and their parents as being unimportant or "unscientific."

Again, the choice of sanctions should involve the largest possible freedom for the child's reason. Other things being equal, the more responsible self-determination and judgment that can be brought to bear on a moral situation the better. It follows that the sanctions used should be adapted to the maturity of the child.

Finally it would seem wise as a rule to utilize a variety of sanctions so that the case for the desired kind of conduct will not depend upon sheer authority alone, or even on the guided judgment of the child alone, or upon any one of the other possible sanctions but rather will call upon a variety of reasons and motives for approved conduct.

Conclusion

The Commission believes that moral and spiritual values can be actively promoted in the public schools by:

1. Defining as goals the accepted moral and spiritual values in our society.
2. Encouraging and helping the individual teacher.
3. Giving attention to moral and spiritual values in teacher education.
4. Teaching these moral and spiritual values at every opportunity.
5. Utilizing all of the school's resources.
6. Devoting sufficient time and staff to wholesome personal relationships.
7. Assuming an attitude of friendly sympathy toward the religious beliefs and practices of students.
8. Promoting religious tolerance actively.
9. Teaching about religion as an important fact in our culture.

EDUCATION FOR THE '80's - AND BEYOND

THE SOCIO-SCIENTIFIC REASONING MODEL

Louis A. Iozzi, Ed.D.

The Institute for Science, Technology, Social Science Education
Rutgers - The State University of New Jersey
Doolittle Hall
New Brunswick, New Jersey

08903

201.932.2246

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EDUCATION FOR THE 80'S - AND BEYONDTHE SOCIO-SCIENTIFIC REASONING MODEL1. Introduction

That we live in a highly scientific and technological world can hardly be disputed. Few would deny that society has, especially during the past century, come to rely on the achievements of science to make life more comfortable, convenient, and for many, more enjoyable. Few would deny that society is becoming increasingly more dependent upon the ingenuity and achievements of the scientific/technological world.

While no one can, with any degree of certainty, predict what future demands society will place on science, or, for that matter, what demands science will place on society, some things seem clear. First, we and those generations who follow us will continue to rely on science and technology to maintain and, more than likely, improve the quality of life for all. Furthermore, advances in science and technology will continue at such an accelerated pace that children growing up today and those yet to be born will live in a world whose leaders will possess awesome power. Unfortunately, the potential for conflict among the scientific, technological, and social sectors will, as time goes on, also increase as future decision-makers at several levels begin to use--or misuse--that power. Clearly, decision-makers that we are cultivating today will be required to solve problems and resolve conflicts which we encounter only in our wildest dreams, or, in some cases, only in our most frightening nightmares.

We are already beginning to see emerging the types of questions which will become common in the not very distant future.

- When individuals require new hearts and organs after their own have failed, the question will not be can we replace the defective organs, but rather, should we?

Note: Many of the ideas expressed in this paper were developed by the author in cooperation with Janey Chou, Associate Director, Institute for Science, Technology, Social Science Education, Rutgers - The State University of New Jersey.

- . The question will not be can we colonize outer space or the ocean depths to relieve the pressures of overpopulation, but rather, should we?
- . The question will not be can we modify weather, climate, and other aspects of our environment, but rather, should we?
- . The question will not be can we utilize the power of nuclear fusion to provide an almost limitless supply of energy despite its dangers, but rather, should we?
- . The question simply will not be can we produce a "Brave New World" but rather, should we?

In brief, questions which today ask "can we" are being transformed rapidly into the more appropriate "should we"?

Science and technology are able to deal effectively with issues of the "can we" variety, for these are decided by scientists and engineers on basic technical fact. Questions of the "should we" type require, on the other hand, the inclusion and consideration of another dimension--a values dimension. These values-based questions must, I maintain, be answered by society--people who are knowledgeable about the capabilities of science and technology --and their impacts and implications regarding such issues as justice, equity, and obligations, life, laws, individual rights, and so on.

How will future society respond to questions such as these? What should be the role of education? How should we prepare the leaders of tomorrow to deal with such awesome decision-making responsibility? How should we prepare our youth to make effective--yet equitable and just decisions--and to act responsibly and in the best interests of all?

In view of the accelerating rate of change and the rapid growth and accumulation of knowledge in nearly all fields of endeavor, reliance on

traditional programs of instruction and teaching methodologies which emphasize, for the most part, facts and information transfer is, in reality, teaching for obsolescence. To deceive ourselves into thinking that the "typical" secondary school student of today will tomorrow need to know the Periodic Table of the Elements by memory is pure folly. To implement, as some have proposed, a program of instruction which emphasizes the so-called "basic skills" to the near exclusion of all else--especially how to use or apply those basic skills--is at best naive.

In contrast, we must develop in our youth skills that are generalisable, highly flexible, and enduring; we must emphasize the development of what I consider to be skills which are at least as basic as any of those proposed to date. These basic skills, I submit, are problem solving, decision-making, and a variety of analytical and critical thinking skills. Moreover, in developing these skills a moral/ethical dimension must be included if today's students are going to effectively--humanely--deal with tomorrow's problems.

II. Theoretical Rationale

Hence, we at the Institute for Science, Technology, and Social Science Education at Rutgers - the State University, view education as development of those skills necessary for complex problem solving and decision-making. Moreover, because the values component is inherent in all decision-making and results have such ramifications, and because of our continuing reliance upon the achievements of science and technology, such skill development should simultaneously emphasize moral/ethical concerns and focus on issues cast in a scientific, technological, social context.

The goals of development, we believe, should contain the following components:

- Increased logical reasoning skills in dealing with problems containing multiple interacting variables.
- Increased decision-making/problem solving skills incorporating socio-moral values considerations and a wider societal perspective.
- Increased knowledge of the broad issues emerging and projected at the interfaces of science/technology/society.

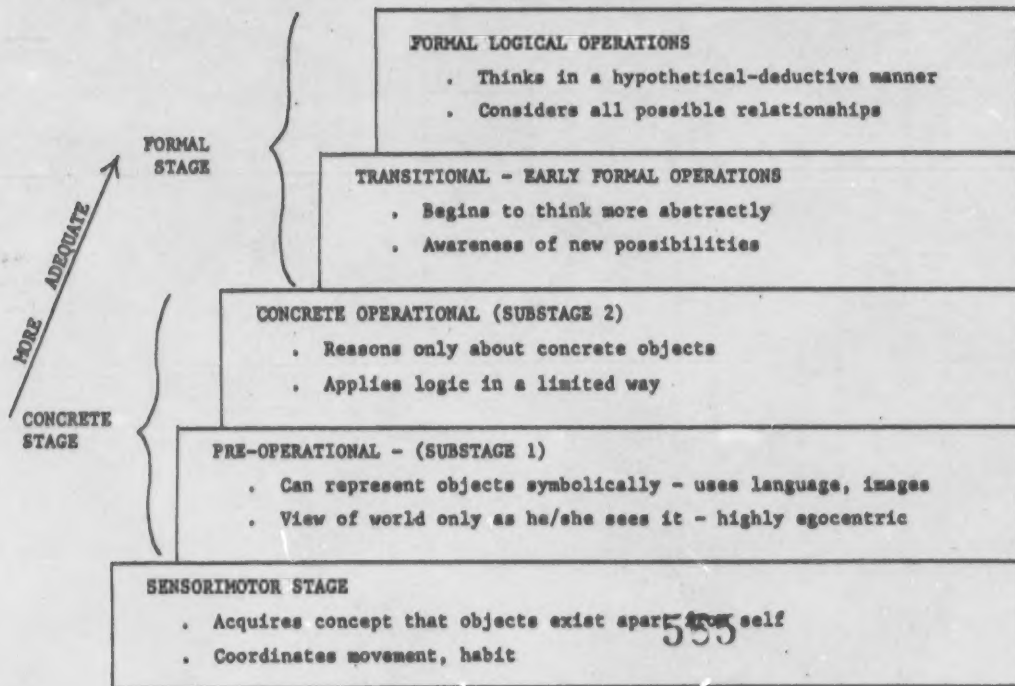
The question, then, is how to best approach the development of such complex and comprehensive problem-solving capabilities. Research in the general area of cognitive development and the specific areas of logical reasoning, social role-taking, and moral/ethical reasoning, provide clues and initial guidance in such endeavors. Those findings pertinent to our work are, in a condensed and highly simplified form, described.

Logical Reasoning

Jean Piaget, the noted Swiss psychologist, has made several important contributions in the area of cognitive development which are pertinent to our efforts (Piaget, 1970), (Gruber and Vonèche, 1977). Piaget views the development of logical reasoning as progression through the series of stepwise stages indicated in Table 1 (sensori-motor, preoperational, concrete operational and formal operational). At each successive stage the logical reasoning ability of individuals takes on a broader perspective and incorporates the ability to deal with greater numbers of interacting variables of increasing intellectual complexity. Each stage of thinking builds upon the previous one, but takes on a new structural form. Growth in cognition, it seems, can be facilitated and nurtured through appropriate educational experiences.

TABLE 1

PIAGET'S STAGES OF COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT



In explaining growth in logical reasoning capability, Piaget refers to the processes of assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration. Assimilation occurs when the child incorporates new ideas and situations into his or her existing thought structures. On the other hand, the child also encounters objects and events that do not fit into his or her existing thought structures. In these contradictory situations, the child has essentially two options: he/she must either enlarge his/her existing structures or create a new category or structure. Piaget defines this as the process of accommodation.

Intellectual growth, Piaget postulates, occurs when the individual attempts to resolve the tension between the interactive processes of assimilation and accommodation by developing new thoughts and responses that are more suitable or adequate. Equilibrium is re-established when thought structures are altered, producing new accommodations that enable the individual to assimilate the new situations. Intellectual growth, then, occurs through internal self-regulation processes that lead to new, higher levels of equilibration.

Moral/Ethical Reasoning

While there are several approaches to values education, the more encompassing one is the cognitive developmental approach offered by Lawrence Kohlberg (1976), (Gibbs, *et al.*, 1976). Kohlberg's ideas are derived from the philosophic positions of Dewey and Piaget. The emphasis here is to help individuals grow intellectually and morally. This is, we feel, a more functional approach than arbitrary indoctrination of values as used in "character" or "socialization" education or taking a "values relativity" stance, typically employed in the more common values clarification approach.

Kohlberg's moral/ethical development theory is an extension of Piaget's

cognitive development theory. Similarly to Piaget, Kohlberg views moral development from childhood to adulthood as progression through a series of stages (Table 2). Each stage is characterized by a very different way of perceiving and interpreting one's experiences. At Kohlberg's Stage 2, for example, "right" and "wrong" are judged in terms of satisfying one's own needs and sometimes the needs of others if it is convenient to do so. At the higher principled stages, reasoning takes into account concerns for the welfare of others in a broader context, and includes concerns for human dignity, liberty, justice, and equality--those very same principles upon which our Constitution is based.

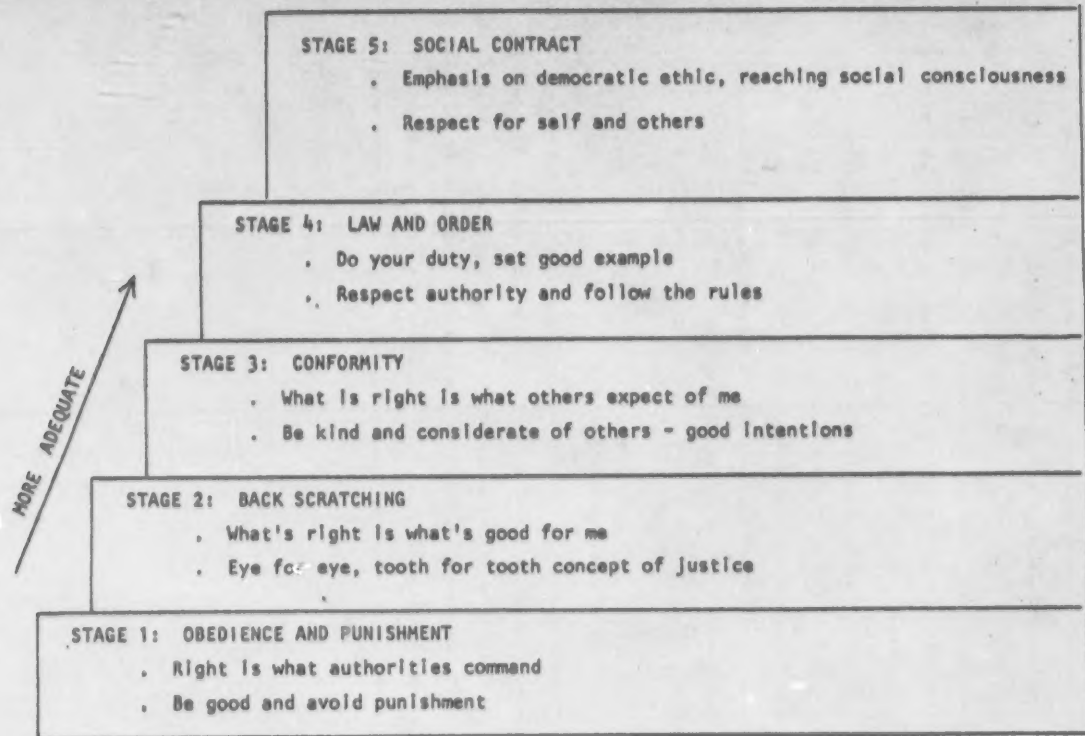
Following Piaget, Kohlberg views development not as mere accumulation of information, but changes in thinking capabilities--the structures of thought processes. In the course of development, higher-level thought structures are attained and result in the extension of an individual's social perspective and reasoning capabilities. Applying higher levels of thinking to problems results in problem solutions that have greater consistency and are more generalisable.

Social Role-Taking Stages

The research of Robert Selman (1976) indicates that social role taking ability is a developed capacity which also progresses in a series of stages from early childhood through adolescence. Role taking is viewed by Selman in terms of qualitative changes in the manner a child structures his understanding of the relationship between the perspectives of self and others.

Using the open-ended clinical method of inquiring first applied by Piaget

TABLE 2
KOHLEBERG'S STAGES OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT



and then later by Kohlberg, Selman has identified and defined Stages 0 through 4 (age range is approximately 3 years to 15+ years). Descriptions of the role taking stages appear in Table 3. Each of Selman's Role Taking stages relates closely to and parallels Kohlberg's moral reasoning stages.

The social role taking stages are viewed as a link between Piaget's logical reasoning stages and Kohlberg's moral reasoning stages. Just as Piaget's logical reasoning stages are necessary but not sufficient for attaining the parallel moral reasoning stages, a similar necessary but not sufficient relationship appears to exist between the social role taking stages and parallel moral reasoning stages.

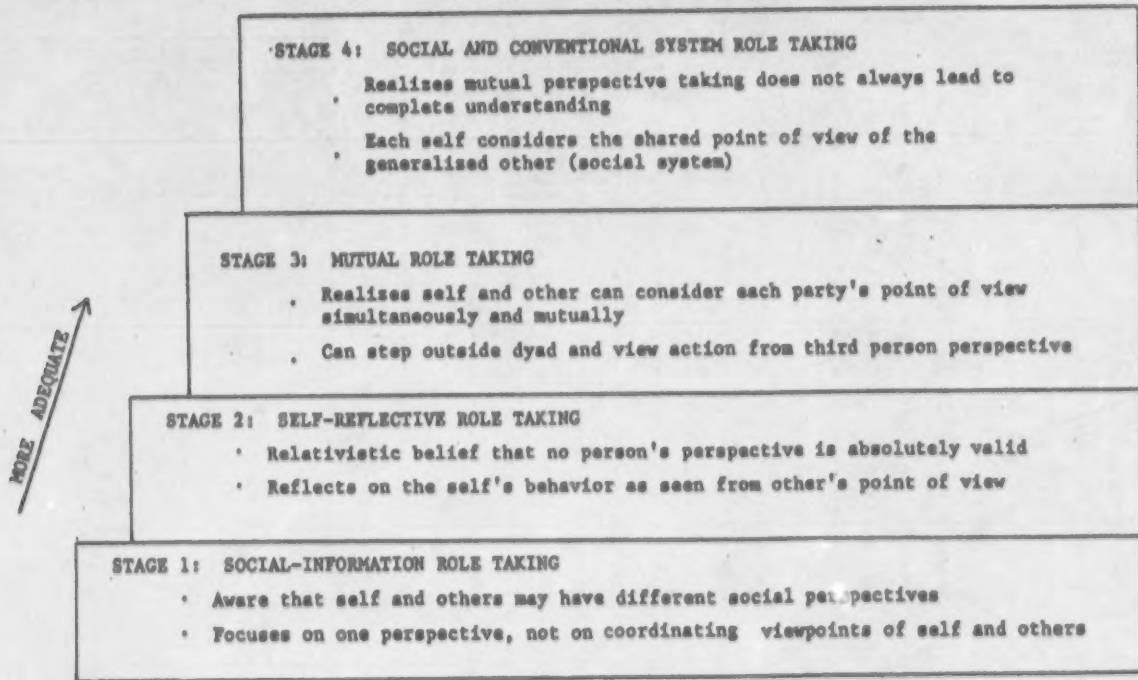
As Selman has pointed out, "...the child's cognitive stage indicates his level of understanding of physical and logical problems, while his role taking stage indicates his level of understanding of the nature of social relations, and his moral judgment stage indicates the manner in which he decides how to resolve social conflicts between people with different points of view" (1976, p. 307).

III. The Socio-Scientific Reasoning Model

Combining our own philosophy, ideas, and research with the theories of Piaget, Kohlberg and Selman, the socio-scientific reasoning model has been developed. Socio-scientific reasoning, as defined here, is the incorporation of the hypothetico-deductive mode of problem solving with the social and moral/ethical concerns of decision-making. The model has served as a guide in the development of a series of educational materials to help students advance

TABLE 3

Selman's Role-Taking Stages



to higher levels of thinking and reasoning capabilities. Moreover, it is highly flexible and readily adaptable to other curriculum development efforts.

The basic assumption of this model is that effective problem solving for the future requires simultaneous development in the realms of logical reasoning, social role taking, and moral/ethical reasoning. Purely objective scientific thinking cannot be applied in the resolution of most of the probable future conflicts without regard to the impact of those decisions on human needs and human goals. A technological solution, for example, may be, after critical analysis, feasible and logically consistent. From a societal perspective, however, one must question whether or not it should be applied. How to best prioritize our needs and evaluate trade-offs with a concern for the needs of future generations involves logical reasoning and critical thinking, but now with an added dimension...a social moral/ethical reasoning dimension.

Hence, the Socio-Scientific model consists of four interacting components (see Figure 1): (1) logical reasoning development is based on the theories of Piaget, while (2) moral/ethical reasoning relies strongly on Kohlberg's ideas. Selman's research provides the basis for the third component, the social role taking aspects of our model. Since the content or information component of the problem (component four) will vary, so too will the concepts vary accordingly. For example, in our applications of this model we have concentrated on issues at the interfaces of science, technology, and society. Of course, problem issues could also deal with or focus on any other topic one chooses to investigate.

The content component also consists of three interacting subunits. These subunits--science, technology, and society--rely on each other for their very existence. While each of the subunits is dependent upon the others, their

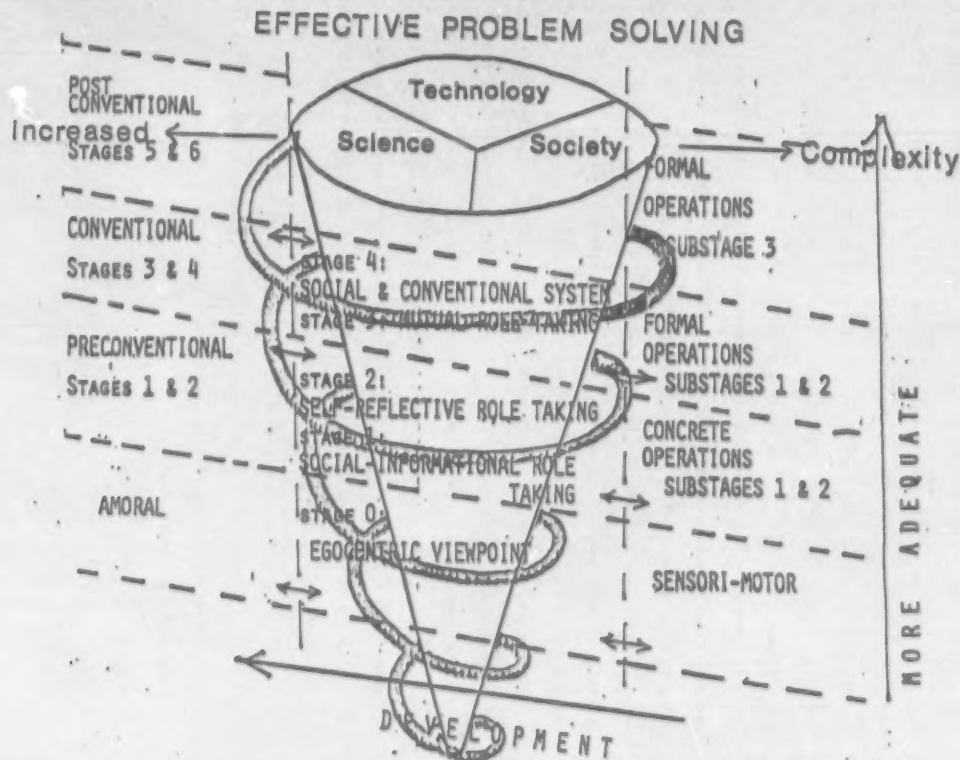


FIGURE 1
THE SOCIO-SCIENTIFIC REASONING MODEL

individual underlying value structures create a high potential for discord since the concerns of one subunit often conflict with those of the others. This paradox--dependence and simultaneous conflict among the subunits--presents a unique opportunity and context for curriculum developers employing the Socio-Scientific Reasoning model to prepare future focused educational materials.

Each component of this model is not seen as a totally separate and distinct entity. Rather, each of the four components interacts with and has an effect on all other components. Thus, logical reasoning has an effect on, and in turn is affected by, social role taking development. In a similar manner, social role taking has an effect on, and is affected by, developments in the moral/ethical realm. Of course, logical reasoning and moral/ethical reasoning also interact. Each of these major components--logical reasoning, social role taking, and moral/ethical reasoning--interact not only with each other but with the fourth component, content or information.

Referring to Figure 1 again, the content cone is small at the low end because at earlier stages of development the number of concepts entertained are smaller and the concepts are simple in nature. Hence, as the cone broadens so too does the complexity of content or information included. Individuals at stages of development intersecting the lower end of the cone can deal with issues and concepts of a simpler form while, on the other hand, individuals at the upper end with higher levels of maturity have the capacity for dealing with more issues and issues of greater complexity. Development, then, is both vertical and horizontal: vertical development is from lower to higher stages; horizontal development relates to the "necessary but not sufficient" requirements which must be satisfied as one moves from logical reasoning, through social role taking, to moral reasoning capabilities.

Thus, while each stage reflects a distinctly unique capability for problem solving in a science/technology/society context, we view development or progress as a continuously spiraling process. In this process, however, there are leaps and quiescence, and fixation at any stage is possible. Levels of logical reasoning, moral reasoning, and role taking maturity also seem to vary, we find, depending on the issues addressed. These apparent inconsistencies in reasoning--even when dealing with the same or similar mental and moral constructs--seem to be related to the degree of emotionality, familiarity with, interest in, and/or knowledge about the issues under consideration (Ioaxi, 1976).

The goal then is to help each individual "spiral" upwards through the Socio-Scientific Reasoning cone and synchronously achieve "more adequate" problem solving capability. "More adequate" as used here refers to the idea that when applied to problem solving, the higher stages of reasoning result in solutions that are more encompassing and generalisable; they enable students to deal with greater complexity.

IV. Applying the Socio-Scientific Reasoning Model

The application of our socio-scientific reasoning model centers on identifying those learning experiences important for assisting students to become more effective and capable decision-makers and problem solvers in a highly scientific and technological world. This model should also prove to be useful in helping curriculum developers determine the types and complexity of activities appropriate for students at different grade levels, with differing abilities, and with differing learning needs and requirements. Implicit in the model and in accord with stage theory is the idea that at each stage there is a characteristic form of thinking capability which determines how

experiences and information are interpreted and acted upon.

The main strategy underlying all of these activities is based on Piaget's concept of equilibration. It is only when disequilibrium is created that active restructuring of thought takes place. This active restructuring leads to growth in logical reasoning and, we contend, growth in social role taking and in moral/ethical reasoning capabilities as well.

Restructuring of existing cognitive structures occurs when internal disequilibrium is felt by the individual. New experiences and inputs which are not readily comprehensible to the individual challenge his/her existing mode of thought by revealing inadequacies or inconsistencies in that problem solving strategy (Tomlinson-Kessey, 1974). Arrestment at a given stage is partially explained by the developmental theorists as the lack of opportunities that create conflict or dissonance which place the individual in a position where he/she needs to assess his/her particular mode of thinking. Perhaps, as Clive Beck points out, the reason why people do not develop morally is because they have not had the opportunity to entertain alternatives--their imaginations have not been extended (1972). We, in addition, contend that the reason people do not advance in logical reasoning can also be attributed, to a large degree, to a similar lack of opportunities.

We have identified some of the basic elements needed to provide experiential opportunities that promote development of problem solving and decision making skills. One educational activity which incorporates some of these elements is the classroom dilemma discussion, an activity most commonly associated with Lawrence Kohlberg and his colleagues. We have, however, modified and extended this approach to more systematically encompass critical analysis and evaluation of information and data. We have also employed such other formats as role taking, simulations, and futures forecasting and analysis methodologies.

Effective discussion, however, cannot take place in a vacuum. Needed also is an information base or context from which students can begin to analyze and evaluate information. With information which they have extracted and synthesized, additional ideas and rational arguments can be developed for discussion. For curriculum materials, we have created problem situations in a variety of contexts which, according to scholars in a variety of fields, will be prominent in the next quarter century and beyond (Shane, 1977). This adds another perspective to the dilemma problem--that which elicits scientific logical reasoning in addition to moral/ethical reasoning--but in a futuristic context.

Included in each curriculum module are several types of extension activities. These serve as mechanisms for students to put some of the ideas and judgments that have emanated from the discussion into larger structural frameworks. They also provide students with opportunities to project into the future, to think beyond their own immediate experiences, and to consider the impact of different decisions on future society.

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SUMMARY OUTLINE OF CURRICULUM CRITERIA

Developmental Models

PIAGET: Logical reasoning development in sequential, invariant stepwise stages. Change via restructuring of thought processes through assimilation and accommodation.

SELMAN: Social Role Taking develops in sequential, invariant & stepwise stages. Link between logical reasoning and moral/ethical reasoning.

KOHLBERG: Moral/ethical reasoning develops in sequential, invariant stages, advance to higher stages by resolution of disequilibrium caused by recognition of inadequacy of own reasoning.

PROBLEM SOLVING: as function of development in logical reasoning structures & moral/ethical reasoning abilities. Leading to increased sophistication in problem solving strategies.

Characteristics of Model Relevant To Secondary School Students

Transition from concrete to formal logical thought operations, proportionality operations, combinatorial operations, probability operations, logical propositional operations (implications, disjunction, compatibility, etc.)

Thinking in a hypothetico-deductive manner.

Transition from conventional to principle level of reasoning. Decisions based on principles that have validity, consistency, & application apart from authority of groups and individuals, guided by self-chosen ethical principles & concerns for universal social justice & individual rights.

Problem definition encompasses more extensive perimeters. Problem seen in wholistic fashion-ability to isolate important elements. Search for relevant information. Entertain alternatives. Eval. possible alternatives & validity of argument. Test alternatives. Eval. solution & make revision.

Curriculum Strategy - Provide Students Opportunities to:

1. Reason hypothetically-deductively;
2. Generate possible alternatives;
3. Distinguish probable & possible events, dealing with reality and abstraction;
4. Consider consequence of alternative actions;
5. Interact directly with content of learning;
6. Integrate personal experience into greater social whole "decentration"
7. Isolate variables to test validity of proposition, controlling variables;
8. Relate ideas one to another;
9. Reflect on own thinking.

1. Interact with peers at more advanced stages of reasoning;
2. Consider perspective of other persons;
3. Experience diversity of alternative ideas;
4. Consider basis of personal value system & judgment;
5. Evaluation of information, judgments, and opinions;
6. Recognize role of self & society.

1. Explore problems from perspective of different disciplines;
2. Integrate ideas & concepts; understand appropriate relationships;
3. Generate hypotheses & test;
4. Consider short-range & long-range effects & implications;
5. Explore different problem solving strategies;
6. Apply appropriate methodology, recognize demands of problem;
7. Use different information sources;
8. Explore own creative ideas

Curriculum Activities

1. Projection of future possibilities;
2. Role Playing;
3. Simulations;
4. Individualized Research of Problems/Issues;
5. Case Studies from wide range & variety of natls.;
6. Active Experimentation/ Systematic Analysis;
7. Debates-Developing Logical Arguments.

1. Dilemma discussions;
2. Role Playing;
3. Communications in small and large groups;
4. Reading & evaluating opinions & judgement of others;
5. Making choices and supporting those choices;
6. Prioritizing preferences.

All of the above plus:

1. Problem Analysis/Synthesis
2. Divergent Questioning
3. Future Forecasting Strategies

Strategies for Educational Progress in the Eighties

Patricia Ashton
Foundations of Education
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida
(508)

Strategies for Educational Progress in the Eighties

In Schools for the 70's and Beyond: A Call for Action, the staff of the National Education Association proposed that the major goal of the seventies should be "making the schools humane institutions." As the end of the seventies approaches, an assessment of the extent to which the NEA objective has been met gives needed perspective for identifying goals for the schools of the eighties. According to the NEA report, a humane school is

. . . one that celebrates personal differences and, also emphasizes human commonalities; helps the student to understand his antecedents, to grow from them, and finally, to not be restricted by them; encourages superior scholarship which allows the inquirer to contribute to his society and to strengthen his own personality; provides the resources for the individual to examine his own life so that he can enlarge his maturity and help to cause growth in others (p. 20).

Consideration of current conditions in schools reveals that little progress was made in humanizing the schools in the seventies. The major concern of parents continues to be the schools' lack of discipline (Gallup, 1979); thousands of teachers are physically assaulted by their students each year; student violence and vandalism are rampant (Van Patten, 1977); the Supreme Court has reaffirmed the use of corporal punishment as a legitimate means of social control in the schools (Englander, 1978), and student and teacher competence are continually questioned (Gallup, 1979).

Education for Social Responsibility

While many educational theorists and practitioners have emphasized that children's social development is a primary responsibility of the schools, an honest evaluation of schools' efforts in facilitating social development reveals very little concerted effort toward this objective. Significant advances in social justice, specifically integration and mainstreaming, have required legal mandates. For the most part, educators have failed to respond to the challenge of providing learning environments that encourage the development of cooperation and social understanding. Research in contemporary classrooms dramatically reveals that the structure of current school systems tends to reinforce group stereotypes and polarities rather than foster integration and understanding.

A number of studies of the effects of integration on social relations clearly indicate that integration of diverse racial groups does not necessarily result in increased interracial acceptance and interaction and may even have a detrimental effect (Schofield, 1978). Similarly, research has repeatedly shown that handicapped children placed in regular classrooms tend to be rejected by their non-handicapped peers (Bryan, 1976; Jones, 1978). Some reports of mainstreaming of handicapped children suggest that the non-handicapped group may even become more negative toward the handicapped students as a result of mainstreaming (Bryan, Wheeler, Felcan, & Henek, 1976). Thus, racial integration and mainstreaming of handicapped children may increase these children's sense of social isolation and rejection, unless specific efforts to facilitate their acceptance into the classroom are initiated.

Conditions identified as essential for improving intergroup acceptance include

. . . equal status contact between majority and minority groups. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports. . . and provided it . . . leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups (Allport, 1954, p. 281).

Thus, in order to provide opportunities for the facilitation of intergroup acceptance, schools must eliminate, as much as possible, institutional support of status distinctions between different groups.

One particularly deleterious practice that maintains and supports unequal status is ability grouping (Schofield, 1979). Research has consistently demonstrated the negative effects of grouping children according to their ability, yet many teachers and administrators continue to favor this practice (Wilson & Schmits, 1978).

If schools are to be successful in fostering intergroup relations, opportunities for all groups of students to participate in the decision making that influences the school are vital; by forming cross-role decision-making groups (that is, groups comprised of students, teachers, administrators and other key school and community members) with legitimate authority to decide on innovations in curriculum, educational resources, school policies, etc., students could obtain a sense of collective power that would be very effective in providing them with a sense of common purpose. In addition, training in strategies for gaining and using power effectively could provide students with skills that would provide valuable alternatives to violence and apathy (Wittes, 1970).

Not only have schools failed to develop intergroup understanding, they have failed to promote the development of social responsibility in general. A serious look at the educational system today could well lead to the conclusion that schools are impeding the process of social development. As Sanders (1977) lamented:

Socialization in our schools (seems) like a socialization by isolation. . . .since one of our thorniest problems today is the isolation of the individuals in our vast institutions, do we want the picture of the child alone to be at all appropriate in a classroom? (p. 53-54).

One of the major problems in the schools is the predominance of competitive and individualistic classrooms. In the competitive classroom, grades are indicators of the student's ranking in the group; for many students the incessant comparison with others on factors that are, for practical purposes like success in the world of work, irrelevant and insignificant, results in a loss of self-esteem and motivation. As Gilbert (1978) cautions:

tests. . .are usually constructed so that differences among people are arbitrarily emphasized. This is one of the reasons that many tests unfairly discriminate against minority groups in a culture: They magnify really small, significant differences in behavior, and give them excessive weight (p. 24).

The individualistic classroom, a popular trend in recent years, wherein each child is working alone on material selected to meet specific needs, was designed to maximize individual achievement but often results in the sense of isolation criticized by Sanders. In an excellent review of the effect of competitive, cooperative, and individualistic classroom structures on students' development, Johnson and Johnson (1977) presented overwhelming evidence to demonstrate that "almost all instructional activities should take place within a cooperative goal structure" (p. 232). The research these reviewers discuss to support their conclusion is convincing. For example, Bryant (1977) studied the effects of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic learning environments on subsequent verbal self- and other-enhancement processes of 180 children, aged 8 to 10. From her study, she

concluded that the individualistic learning situations reduced the likelihood of students relating verbally to their peers. Enhancement of self at the expense of others was generalized from the competitive situation, and enhancement of self and other was learned in cooperative settings.

The devastating ramifications of socializing the child into a competitive orientation are revealed in a study by Nelson and Kagan (1972). These researchers noted that middle SES U. S. children became increasingly competitive with age and persisted in competing even in situations in which it was inappropriate and self-defeating. In a review of a number of studies of competition, Nelson and Kagan observed:

Anglo-American children are not only irrationally competitive, they are almost sadistically rivalrous. Given a choice, Anglo-American children took toys away from their peers on 78% of the trials even when they could not keep the toys for themselves. Observing the success of their actions, some of the children gloated, 'Ha! Ha! Now you won't get a toy.' Rural Mexican children in the same situation were rivalrous only half as often as the Anglo-American child.

The American heritage of "rugged individualism" has received considerable criticism recently, as it has become increasingly obvious that survival in today's complex world is based on the interdependence, not independence, of individuals. Robert Hogan (1975) condemned Americans' obsessive emphasis on the individual's search for identity and attributed many of the current social problems, including alienation, suicide, the rising crime rate, and drug abuse, to the cult of individualism. To counteract these tendencies, Buchen (1974) has called for an educational focus on the relationship and responsibilities between individuals. Classrooms should be organized in ways that require development of skills of cooperation and communication. In today's world, sensitive consideration of one's behavior

and its impact on others is essential in order that the best interests of all can be served. It is critical for our children's survival that educators accept as a major objective the development of students' sense of social responsibility and the interactive skills essential to interdependent living.

In order to develop a sense of social responsibility, the school should provide leadership in identifying and solving community problems. One of the major problems of childhood and growing up in contemporary society is the lack of meaningful roles for children and adolescents. If the schools focused on existing social problems of the community as actual learning experiences, children could obtain valuable practice in group problem-solving and gain a sense of common purpose and responsibility (Van Patren, 1977).

Specification of Goals and Appropriate Evaluation Procedures

Thomas Gilbert (1978) in his study of the nature of human competence identified the most critical need of education for the eighties, that is, the identification of goals to guide educational practice:

. . . aimlessness (of schools) surely does more to cripple our educational system than all the inefficiencies in teaching that we could point out. . . . Nothing is more critical to creating competence than establishing clear, valuable, and measurable goals, and determining the potential for accomplishing them (p. 110, 73).

The need for carefully considered goals that identify the competencies essential for successful coping in the twenty-first century is self-evident. However, serious dangers are inherent in this process.

As noted in the NEA report discussed earlier, education has been seriously limited by narrowly defined objectives and inadequate evaluation instruments. A vivid and unfortunate example of this tendency is the early

assessment of the Head Start compensatory education program. While Head Start was developed to achieve notable advancements in social and personal development, as evidenced by the fact that five of the seven goals for Head Start were related to social and emotional development, the success of the program was initially evaluated in terms of its effect on IQ scores, a particularly inappropriate instrument for the assessment of program effects (Walker, 1973). Similar examples of inappropriate instrumentation can be cited in the Coleman Report and Follow-Through evaluations. Thus, our understanding of schooling effects has been grossly distorted by use of inadequate measurement instruments. Perpetuation of narrowly defined goals and inappropriate evaluation techniques seems particularly likely given the increasing trend toward the development of state mandated competency testing. Educational practices are likely to become even more narrowly focused as teachers become publicly accountable for their students' rankings on tests designed to establish minimal rather than optimal performance standards. Thus, we are in danger of allowing educational goals to be specified in terms of easily measurable, minimal standards rather than in terms of optimal development of all facets of the individual in the context of the social world.

Developmentally Appropriate Curriculum

Declining standards of achievement and permissive classroom structures have often been cited as responsible for the widely publicized drop in test scores on standardized achievement tests. David Elkind, one of the nation's foremost authorities on child development and education, has suggested that the dramatic decline in test scores, notably the SAT, may be due to the fact that the curricula of the 60's and 70's were too difficult

not too easy. It must be remembered that the new curricula in reading, math, science, and social studies of the recent past were created predominantly by specialists, university professors in the academic fields, with relatively little assistance from child development specialists. Consequently, a critical review of the curriculum materials created during this period reveals flagrant violations of the thinking processes and concrete logic of the child. Elkind warns that many school failures and socio-emotional problems in children are due to inappropriate curriculum materials that create frustration and confusion because they conflict with the child's understanding of the world. Thus, an intensive analysis of curriculum materials is needed to insure that they correspond to the developmental level of the child. The expectations that parents and teachers have for children also need to be considered with this perspective. For example, recent efforts to teach children to read and acquire other complex school skills at very early ages are likely to place demands on many children that are inappropriate given the child's developmental level. If children are provided with developmentally appropriate curriculum materials that gradually increase in difficulty and complexity, as the child acquires prerequisite skills, student failure can be reduced to a minimum, and learning can proceed at the most efficient rate possible. Failure of students to acquire the basic tool skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic is a serious indictment of current educational practices, but no less serious is the evidence suggesting that current school practices inhibit the development of creative thinking processes (Torrance, 1963), logical thinking abilities (Kohlberg & Gilligan, 1971) and social skills (Nelson & Kagan, 1972).

To emphasize development of "basic skills" without a balanced concern for social-emotional and higher cognitive processes is likely to result in

failure, for students are unlikely to appreciate the importance of these skills when they are taught in a context that ignores the emotional, cognitive, and social needs of the child.

Effective Teacher-Student Relationships

Problems of student motivation are prevalent at both the elementary and secondary level. Teachers must recognize that the teacher-student relationship is the source of many learning problems. Elkind has alerted us to the importance of the relationship as a motivational factor:

"Too often the academic failure of students is attributed to personal qualities such as low intelligence or "laziness" when in fact the problem lies in the relationship between pupil and teacher or child and parents...In fact, however, the culprit is more often a real or imagined breach in the implicit contractual arrangements between teacher and child."(p. 117)

Teacher education programs must emphasize the characteristics of an effective teacher-student relationship and provide teachers with the skills essential for establishing and maintaining effective rapport with students.

Contributions of Educational Research to Educational Practice in the Eighties

The results of educational research have had a rather limited role in the improvement of educational practice. However, recent breakthroughs in research suggest that in the eighties significant advances in educational practices will be possible, if adequate procedures are designed to facilitate dissemination of current research findings, and funding is continued for educational research that focuses on the solution of immediate problems in the school context. A number of recent studies have attempted to explore the effect of varying teacher behavior in the classroom and have found that significant effects on student achievement are possible using this approach. For example, applying Glass and Smith's (1978) finding that significant achievement gains accrue when class size is reduced to 15 or below, Cahen and Filby (1979) are studying the effect of reducing class size and

experimenting with ways of working effectively with small groups. Anderson, Evertson, and Brophy (1979), Good and Grouws (1978), and Gage (1978) reported substantial success in increasing student achievement through training teachers to use specific techniques.

The Follow-Through evaluations revealed that teacher effects vary for different student outcomes; for example, a high rate of drill, practice and praise resulted in significant gains in reading and math test scores for low SES children in grades one and three, while opportunities for child-selected activities and considerable self-direction resulted in evidence of greater independence, cooperation, curiosity, problem-solving ability, and increased school attendance (Stallings, 1977). Thus, teachers need to be trained to use a variety of techniques, depending on the specific outcomes intended.

The Professional Education of Teachers

The research results discussed in the previous section suggest that there is a rapidly increasing literature that could provide teachers with the skills and knowledge essential to motivating student achievement. Current teacher education programs, however, are unable to provide the expertise and sophistication a teacher needs to succeed in the classroom in the two years that traditionally comprise the teacher education program. An extensive revision of teacher education programs that would provide a professional education program comparable to the professional training of lawyers and doctors is desperately needed if teachers are to meet the challenge of preparing students to cope in the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

Abraham Maslow (1962) proposed an approach to motivation that has tremendous implications for understanding the reasons underlying the majority

of school failures. According to Maslow, basic survival needs must be met before educators can motivate children to develop interest in academic subject matter. Children who are hungry, poorly sheltered, frightened, and unloved are poor candidates for school learning. Therefore, those of us concerned about promoting children's academic achievement must first be concerned about insuring all children the right to adequate food, shelter, security, and love. When these elemental needs have been met, students are then free to respond to their need to know and understand. The violence and apathy characterizing student attitudes in the seventies are, in large part, attributable to the schools' failure to give children opportunities to develop a sense of purpose and social responsibility. When students fail to see a relationship between their interests and needs and the demands of school life, frustration and violence or apathy are likely to follow. When learning experiences are relevant to children's interests and provide them with the opportunity to achieve a new skill or contribute to a meaningful goal, motivation is inherent in the activity itself and teachers are freed from the need to provide external incentives for learning. If schools can respond to children's needs to belong, to be appreciated and valued, to acquire meaningful skills, to contribute to important human endeavors--then the eighties will be a decade of significant educational progress. Major efforts needed to achieve these goals include (1) school programs aimed at the development of social responsibility, (2) specifications of long-term educational goals and development of appropriate instruments for evaluation of goal attainment, (3) curriculum materials that are developmentally appropriate, (4) development of effective teacher-student relationships, (5) research aimed at solving school problems, and (6) professional education of teachers.

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INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLING: DECISIONS FOR THE 1980'S

Joan Scheff Lipsitz

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Carl D. Perkins
Chairman

Early adolescence is a time during which life-changing growth occurs. It is a time when young people begin to define themselves as social beings with a sense of commitment to their personal futures and their society. It is a time to begin considering how to function on one's own. It is a time for establishing a firm sense of racial identity and for sorting through feelings about sexual identity. It is a time when the capacity for hypothetical, abstract thought begins to develop. Physically, it is a time of the most rapid growth and change in the entire human experience. It is, in other words, a critical time of development that can determine the quality of one's future.

Schooling for young adolescents--middle grade education--is the weakest link in the chain of public education. It is the misfortune of young adolescents that just at the point in their lives when they are seeking definition, two areas of confusion and ignorance converge: confusion about the purposes of schooling for young adolescents and ignorance about early adolescence as a critical developmental stage in the life span.¹ The convergence of these two areas of confusion and ignorance--what a school for young adolescents should do and what a young adolescent should be--dangerously undermines the day-to-day functioning of our schools.

Joan Scheff Lipsitz, PhD, is Director, Center for Early Adolescence, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC.

In the senior high years we will continue to reap the bitter harvest of our neglect of middle grade schooling if we do not focus our attention on these formative years.

It is at the very least cost-ineffective to spend considerable amounts of money on the very young without following through to make good on our investment. Likewise, it is an inefficient use of our public monies to concentrate on remediation and re-education at the time of transition into the labor market while failing to support necessary programs in the middle grades that could reduce the need for later widespread remediation. We attend to inputs and outputs. Where is the middle?

We are desperately in need of priority setting, research, program definition, and funding for this age group.

Where do young adolescents go to school? These 12 to 15 or 10 to 15-year-olds are placed predominantly in junior high schools but increasingly in middle schools. The distinction between junior high and middle schools is often meaningless. For instance, in 1978 the state of New York had 236 public middle schools, defined as grades 5-7, 6-8, or 5-8, and 417 public junior high schools, defined as schools with grades no lower than sixth or higher than ninth, except for those with grades 6-8 (which are middle schools)!² Information like this about where adolescents go to school is just about useless and is the rule, not the exception. In North Carolina in 1976, 12 to 15-year-olds were in schools with 26 different grade configurations (K-8, 6-8, 7-9, 7-10, 7-8, etc.). There is no consensus about where young adolescents should be in school, much less about what the schools should be doing. It is an age group waiting for social attention.

Teacher education for this age group is in a state of flux, if not chaos. In 1968 only two states required teacher certification standards for middle schools. In 1978, 27 states had established or were in the process of establishing certification standards for middle school personnel. Special middle school

certification, as of 1979, was granted in 15 states. Only one state (Kentucky) issued special certification for middle school administrators. (Nine states are working toward special certification, so these numbers will rise.) Even in states with special middle school certification, teachers with elementary certification are allowed to teach grades 5 and 6 in middle schools and teachers with secondary certification may teach grades 7 and 8.³

There is no other level of public education for minors that is so poorly defined and that so obviously needs more extensive and careful policy setting. It will be necessary in the 1980's to examine on what basis decisions are made about grade organization and on what basis they should be made. There appears to be a movement toward closing down junior high schools and opening middle schools. Such decisions are usually made for demographic and fiscal reasons, without concern for the developmental claims that young adolescents make upon us. As Michael Timpane says:

The intellectual chaos surrounding the institutions of intermediate schooling (junior highs and middle schools) is in the United States complete and unique enough to call for a separate intensive nationwide review of their purposes. For these schools more than any other, the physiological and psychological assumptions concerning students' attributes have changed. In both curricula and personnel, they have been colonized by the senior high school mentality. They have taken little or no account of the changing nature of the antecedent elementary instruction of their students. And they are most vulnerable politically to consolidation or the realignment of grade structures. If we are going to eliminate them, at least we should know why. If we are to retain them, we must start over again in deciding what role they should play in the transition of adolescents from elementary schools which have developed much more flexible educational programs to senior highs where, we assume, the nature of experience and instruction will be changing substantially.⁴

In the intensive nationwide review that Timpane recommends, it would be incumbent upon us to make sure we are looking at every pressing educational issue as it impinges on this age group. For instance, the great majority of studies on school desegregation, effective school reading programs, programs for the handicapped, and teacher characteristics ignore or gloss over the middle grades, despite the

fact that we cannot assume that what works at the elementary or senior high levels is effective in schools for young adolescents. In the 1980's we will have to examine the impact of each of these issues on intermediate schooling.

Does it matter what we do? In fact, we know very little, but what we do know gives us some hints. For instance, NIE's Safe School Study tells us that boys in the seventh grade are the most victimized of our students--if they are in junior high schools (7-9), but not in K-8 or middle schools.⁵ Eighty-one percent of 7th graders in K-8 schools, in a controlled longitudinal study, participated in extra-curricular activities; 39% of 7th graders did in 7-9 schools, despite the greater number of activities offered.⁶ A large urban study found that 12-year-olds who had entered junior high school had lower self-esteem, higher self-consciousness, and greater instability of self-image than 12-year-olds in elementary school. The transition into junior high school is apparently more stressful than other school transitions are.⁷ There are other studies that indicate different effects for whites and blacks, and for girls and boys. A good deal more study is needed before this information will be of much use to policy-setters.

With rates of pregnancy, suicide, serious crimes, running away, truancy and alcohol abuse increasing among this age group, we have indication of considerable distress among approximately 20% of this age group. We do not know what role school structure plays in this distress (although in some parts of the country, the crime rate goes down during the summer months and up during the school months), nor do we know which alternative structures will relieve some of this expensive human suffering. We have the greatest number of alternative schools at the senior high school level and many at the elementary level. Unfortunately, we have very few alternatives at the intermediate level. As a result, we offer very little respite to young adolescents who need different school environments. Also, because of this lack of alternatives we have had almost no opportunities to learn about intermediate schooling options. In the 1980's we will need to establish and study

at least as wide a spectrum of alternatives for middle grade schooling as is available for elementary and senior high levels.

At the same time, we must insist upon the normalcy of early adolescence. The onset of puberty, with all its attending physical and behavioral changes, is all too often seen as a pathological time in life during which adults feel that all they can do is to wait it out. In fact, for the large majority this is not a time of crisis and tumultuous acting out. By assuming that it is and putting young adolescents "on hold," we fail to define what makes sense for them just at the point in their lives when they are actively seeking definition from adults. While we must be concerned about establishing alternatives to traditional schooling for the 20% or so who are distressed, we must also be concerned about establishing a spectrum of educational opportunities for the approximately 80% who are coping adequately. As Heyneman and Daniels point out:

When it comes to legislation in the area of youth, somehow normalcy or the "developmental view" really has no lobby at all. The delinquency people have a lobby. The runaway people have a lobby, the service people and the adolescent pregnancy people all have lobbies... The central concern of these 'problem lobbies' is, by definition, to solve a problem. But their particular problem, though serious, may in fact involve a very small portion of young people. By comparison, the processes of socializing the young, a problem which affects everyone, go comparatively unattended and unrepresented.⁸

In the 1980's we will need to reverse this trend and spend a greater amount of our human and financial resources on socializing and educating the young adolescents in our schools.

Young adolescents pose a unique problem for educators. The central characteristic of this age group is its diversity, caused by extreme variations in the rates of physical, social, emotional and intellectual development. There is no age group that is as variable in the entire continuum of schooling. John Money has pointed out that "it is very difficult for some youngsters to be caught in that no-man's land between their chronological age and their physique age, trying to keep up their social age, their academic age, their personality age, and their psychosexual

age, in conformity with their chronological age.⁹ It is also very difficult to be a teacher of 25 or 45 such students, each juggling so many different and varying ages, especially since variability occurs both within each individual and among the many individuals in the class. Certainly it is also very difficult to administer a school for this age group or to be on a school board setting policy for such a school. If for no other reason than the fact of this unique variability, intermediate schooling is in need of our targeted attention. Policies and techniques that are effective with other age groups are defeated daily by this one central fact of intermediate school life: variability. And so, we must look at each educational issue as it relates specifically to the developmental characteristics this age group.

One area demanding immediate attention is the search for effective schools. What works? We desperately need such information in reference to schools for 10 to 15-year-olds.

In a very modest definition of "effectiveness," Edmonds and Frederiksen have looked for schools that teach poor and/or minority children how to read and compute. An effective school, using their criterion, is one that is at or above the city average grade equivalent in math and reading.¹⁰ Unfortunately, middle grade education is not part of this search. Similarly, the frequently cited study by Weber on schools that successfully teach reading was conducted only in the primary grades.¹¹ The studies that have been given four-star ratings in the press tell us very little about what we need to know. At the insistence of the Chief State School Officers, the National Assessment of Educational Progress, for instance, was specifically designed so that we cannot draw any conclusions about the effectiveness of individual schools. The Coleman Report determined the influences of school resources on students after controlling for social background characteristics. The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education points out that school factors have greater impact on the achievement of minority group students

than on majority students. Coleman's methodology washed out these effects. Even so, according to the Coleman data, teacher quality is a major determinant of scholastic achievement among black students.¹²

What we are so badly in need of getting are studies that tell us about specific programmatic and policy effects for pupils of differing family and social backgrounds at the intermediate level. If, as more and more people are suggesting, we must concentrate on individual schools as the unit of change,¹³ then we must know more about the effectiveness of individual schools that serve 10 to 15-year-olds.

There are studies that point the way. For instance, Michael Rutter and his colleagues studied 645,000 students in more than 4,000 schools in London. They were less interested in whether schools lessened gaps in IQ or income inequality, our standard definitions of "effectiveness," than in whether schools have an effect on outcomes like school behavior, delinquency, and passing specific required exams. They found that schools make an enormous difference in achievement and patterns of delinquency.¹⁴ We are desperately in need of such information in the United States.

What makes a school effective in not just desegregating but in integrating its student body? There are several studies that present us with disturbing preliminary data about the difficulties of integration at the junior high school level.¹⁵ We need more help from studies like Classrooms and Corridors: The Crisis of Authority in Desegregated Secondary Schools, which analyzes the strikingly different life in two desegregated junior high schools, one that is in chaos and the other where students learn peacefully in a well administered setting with teachers whose morale is high.¹⁶

To be effective, a school must establish a climate in which children can learn. As concern about school safety grows, especially at the junior high level, we need to examine not just troubled schools but, even more importantly, orderly

schools. Orderly Schools That Serve Children, a report from the Citizens Council for Ohio Schools, is a first step in the right direction.¹⁷ As we enter the 1980's, we need more examples of schools where young adolescents are learning so that we can learn from their example.

Study after study has told us that effective schools are marked by strong administrative leadership. We do not have as talented a pool of administrators at the middle grade level as we do at other levels. If we are going to strengthen the weakest link, we will need a new form of Educational Professional Development Assistance (EPDA), this time one that focuses strongly on middle grade administrators and staff.

There are curricular issues that must be resolved in relation to intermediate schooling. They have their origin in developmental phenomena at early adolescence. These areas include reading, health education, vocational education, and career education. One example, and an extremely important one, has to do with mathematics and science.

For some students the decision not to continue taking mathematics occurs as early as seventh grade, when eighth grade algebra becomes optional. This decision carries serious negative consequences, since the "mathematics filter" prevents these students from getting later learning in technical fields. All fields entailing the use of mathematics, including those relying on computer technology, are closed to these young people because of a decision made during early adolescence. This problem is especially acute among women and minorities.¹⁸

The United States government is spending millions of dollars on equity programs in order to provide equal opportunities for women and minorities in and through public schooling. Special attention needs to be devoted to curricula and counseling for young adolescents. Mathematics and science are only two examples from among many badly in need of help.

The challenges for the 1980's are new because they take place in an atmosphere of discouragement about change. We will need to encourage diversity without encouraging segregation,¹⁹ insist upon excellence without becoming elitist, guarantee basic skills without reducing curricula to reading and writing, and meet the needs of young adolescents without pitting them against other age groups. Most of all, we need to insist, as does the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, that even though education cannot overcome the impact of slums, that even though we need welfare reform, housing policies, health and other social programs, school (and employment) policies "can make a significant difference, as is suggested by examples of promising programs in certain communities."²⁰ We must learn about those programs and from them so that we foster the healthy development of our young adolescent population.

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Education and Media in the 1980's

By D. Phillip Baker

Projecting the future of education in general and that of school library media programs specifically for the decade which lies ahead presents an irresistible temptation, although it is doubtlessly an impossible undertaking if prescience is expected. The Future! How to control it, to shape it and bend it to our will through scientific research and applied technology is a uniquely American preoccupation. Possibly no culture in the world's history has been so consumed with controlling the future's course and conversely, so unconcerned with discovering meaning from the past. Until recently our fixation with controlling the future could be indulged to the fullest, and one certainty shaped this process; this being that the future would be a certain extrapolation of the past and, with only temporary pauses for minor adjustments, the future unerringly carried with it, much as seeds to create an exact replication are carried in floating dandelion fluff, the capacity to reproduce itself. And for certain the future would be ever better, ever more prosperous and ever more beneficent in the gifts it bestowed. This was a certainty of life, indeed believing so formed the nucleus of the American Dream.

Just when the American ethos changed from one of absolute acceptance that the future was something to be rushed toward and anticipated eagerly, to one of uncertainty and even fear about what the future held is unclear. The dividing line which separates skepticism from cynicism is rarely that obvious. Clearly, the decade of the seventies which saw three economic recessions, pernicious inflation, two oil crises and a continuing world energy crisis, along with the Watergate induced Constitutional crisis and the final disaster of Vietnam have indelibly etched themselves onto the wax tablet of the national consciousness. With the sureness of Iago accosting Othello, uncertainty and a general lack of optimism about the future shadow our steps toward it. Fear, like a metastasizing malignancy eats away at our hopes for what the future will bring, and for the first time, the future is viewed by many Americans as just plain dangerous. Our absolute belief in our ability to control the future, at least in a technological sense,

has been replaced with a kind of damage-control mentality whereby in deciding what is to be done we seek out the least bad way to manage our problems.

So much for the influential negatives which shape our lives now. Pollsters, interviewers, opinion shapers, the general vox populi confirms that these darker emotions are pervasively present now. The gravest danger this presents is that, as Franklin D. Roosevelt so persuasively argued, we react to every situation with a loss of purpose and confidence. The future must not become something to be viewed preeminently as "dangerous", nor can fatalism become the measure of our spirit. There is danger too, in that the more we fear the less we will apprehend of the future, with decreasing numbers of persons developing the aptitudes and abilities to deal well with its challenges.

Wherever there is great risk and danger there exists too, splendid opportunity and enormous potential for innovation, creativity and excellence. Seen thus, the provocative challenge of a future which will bring brilliant fulfillment to the American educational system is equally compelling. This ratio of high risk to great potential success is clearly influencing the field of educational media programs as we enter the nineteen eighties. Never have the issues of what school library media programs should be or must become been clearer, nor the talent to fulfill these expectations successfully needed more. This is true though for all of education to which school library media programs are inextricably linked. The potential variety of library media program offerings for the 1980's is protean, and the need for profoundly original thinking to be brought to bear on the sorting and sifting process this task inevitably demands is self evident.

The future for school library media programs must amount to something more than a slavish honoring of past traditions. Yet, predicting with precision what new ways must be adopted and which old ways retained, and the consequences of these decisions is a mighty tricky business. It is tempting to toss ideas about what the future will be around like frisbies, and with the same light weight effect this

is a pleasant if useless diversion. And predictions about what the future may or will be can sound authoritative and be extravagant in their persuasion, yet have their value quickly foreshortened by time's passage. Following this course finds the air thick with promiscuous promises, while a host of visionary prophets are quick to share with us the opinions upon which their facts are based.

How to strike the balance between a rational and unhyped view of the future and crazy far out guessing is not easy, for warmed by the conviction of our own beliefs, frequently we go too far. Predicting the course of school library media programs in the decade ahead requires, above all else, a commitment to common sense, a dedication to patience and good judgment, and a preoccupation with developing a consensus which leads to accommodation, all commodities the demand for which always exceeds the supply thereof.

Certain developments in school library media programs and the directions they will take are already evident, and these developments will doubtlessly become well established in the 1980's. One thing is certain, this is that technology, as applied to technical services and instructional programs, will become indispensable to the school library media program. Especially in the technical service area of library media program management will technology assert its usefulness. As a national bibliographic control system is brought finally to both the audiovisual and print world access to computerized data bases of cataloging and bibliographic information, as well as the production of cataloging cards and book catalogs, will become commonplace in the school library media program. This alone will redeem professionals from countless hours of unnecessary and usually ineffective labor as they catalog and process the mountains of instructional materials necessary to the library media program. The time saved will be used to better effect in serving the learning needs of students, teachers, administrators and citizens who seek or need the instructional services the program provides.

Computer access to other information data bases will allow library media specialists to avoid much of the essential but time consuming reference questions of the "where-do-I-find" or "in-what-book?" nature; questions which are so much a part of the day but whose repetitiveness and low learning value impair the efficiency and effectiveness of many school library media programs. Quick and easy reference questions and information needs such as information retrieval skills, may be stored in a data base, called up by the user and used as often as needed, much as we now sort through the card catalog or encyclopedia to find this or that isolated piece of information.

On a more sophisticated instructional level, growing access to and use of commercial information data bases will accelerate within schools, and new and highly useful computerized data bases for elementary and middle school users will be developed. Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI) whereby the computer is harnessed to perform the tedious but essential task of memorization or repetitious mastery level skill and drill work will be abundantly available and frequently used within the library media center. Until now, the history of computer use within the schools has been perfectly consistent with the historic patterns shown in the development and use of the hardware of technology for the past century. This being that the hardware to deliver technology (in this case the computer) far outstripped our ability to program useful or intellectually credible programs (the software if you will), to use with it. These paths now converge, demand meets need and expectation, and early in this decade the software of learning and the hardware to deliver this learning efficiently and effectively will finally achieve equity. That this development will be highly profitable commercially is assured, guaranteeing its widespread use within the school library media program.

Technology as used within the library media program's instructional program component will become abundantly available too, through a vastly increased commitment by all kinds of libraries to the practice of networking or resource sharing. On the one hand, the application of technology to media programs will lower their per pupil cost making available vast treasure houses of information, at significantly reduced costs. On the other hand large capital investment is required to obtain the hardware and the programs created by advanced technology, even though this expense has decreased in cost or held steady as minaturized components made possible through solid state circuitry have reduced bulk while increasing efficiency and information delivery. Access to this world of the future is expensive. Programs created through regional associations or cooperative service compacts among various kinds of library and information systems will serve a dual purpose ; for by pooling human and material resources and sharing financial investment and risks, information services will be made available which no single school district or building could heretofore have afforded. Networking means too, that complimentary information programs consisting of public, special, college and research and any other kinds of libraries and information agencies now operating, will increasingly transcend the bonds of service to an exclusive client group and provide services and programs to a greatly expanded population. Planning by government agencies and funding to support these plans will encourage these developments, and it is likely that Federal and State Law will even mandate these information networks.

Well established by now too, is that the numbers of the traditional clients for school library media programs, children in the five to eighteen year old range, have diminished precipitously and this will continue into the coming decade. Additions to these numbers or replacements must be found from a variety of other user/clients who form a broad age range from eighteen months until death. Preschool and day-care programs, senior citizen education programs and special interest

groups concerned about such matters as health care, nutrition and leisure time learning will be recruited into using community schools. Schools will present aggressive community outreach programs, partly because of the remarkably resilient and tenacious survival instincts which all institutions display, and partly because now is the right time for this to happen. The educational system's responsibility to attend to the educational needs of widely varied multitude of citizens with different needs and expectations is increasingly defined through Judicial, Executive and Legislative fiat, and it mirrors as well a genuine commitment by the educational system to play its essential and historic role within the democratic system. Each group served though generates its own demands for specialized services and programs. In many cases this will be a matter of old wine for new bottles, for user needs and their expectations for information will not vary that wildly from what has gone before or should already be happening in the school library media program. What will happen is that materials, equipment and personnel will be used in a number of ways and with a variety of disparate users with special individual group needs. But when has this truism not been the hallmark of excellent program planning and innovative library media services?

Other special or single interest groups will place escalating demands for additional or first time information service upon school library media programs. It has already been noted that many of the services these "specials" expect or require must be provided because of Federal/state fiat or judicial decisions. The large scale intervention by all levels of government into American education has recently forced schools to provide "free and appropriate educational programs and services" to such varied groups of learners as the mentally and physically handicapped, the gifted and talented, bilingual, English as a second language (ESL), or other special need groups. There are no signs that the pace of this intervention will slacken, given the litigation prone and contentious civil rights postures

assumed now by most advocacy groups. If anything, as one special interest group see its needs satisfied, or at least responded to through government intervention, other special interest groups join the fray with intensified determination and a willful purpose to have their way.

Clearly, each of these events and others not anticipated, will have an impact upon the professional preparation received by those entering school library media program work. For example, as the need for narrowly focused technical expertise---how to catalog, how to locate special reference books, how to teach mechanical library skills---becomes achievable through the application of programs provided by the wizardry of solid-state circuitry to teaching and technical services, new professional requirement will be called for from library media specialist. Now this professional must become a highly skilled program planner and manager; an outstanding teacher and a leader of other teachers as a staff developer; persuasive at coaxing school administrators to adopt new ways or adapt the old to meet new expectations, and a community change agent able to anticipate and serve the needs of new and different users. All of this requires that library education change the focus of its preparation programs. It has been long apparent that in library education too much time goes to preparing school library media specialists to do jobs which are unnecessary or to perform obsolete services. This must change; for it is one thing to evolve into a dinosaur and disappear for lack of adaptability, it is quite another venture to continue to produce dinosaurs designed exclusively for failure.

Emerging in the late seventies and foreseeable as a distinct and energetic shaping force in the eighties was a rediscovered commitment by professional groups associated with the American Library Association (ALA), groups such as the American Association of School Librarians (AASL), The Young Adult Service Division (YASD) and the Association for Library Service to Children (ALSC) to develop a coalition whose purpose aimed to preserve, to protect and to extend the rich

tradition of library services to children and youth, especially those associated with the school and public library, from further erosions or outright dismanteling. Partly this reflects a hunker-down and pull-the-wagons into-a-circle mentality, something that is bound to show when times are tough, as they surely are in the late seventies. But it is appropriate too, to see the formation of this coalition as an effort to enrich and extend library media programs and services to children and youth. It is a healthy development that, while the technology we have described here will deliver unparallel new information services and media programs to our youth, its ultimate value should be to the enrichment of our culture and democratic traditions. Its true value will be reckoned for the humanizing and civilizing effect it has upon the human condition.

The growth of cable television alone in the 1980's will multiple in a geometric kind of information explosion the potential which television has to educate rather than sedate. Broad band access to channels devoted exclusively to news analysis, art appreciation, music, theater, sports, bilingual education, foreign language, cooking, nutrition, preventive health care---the list is limited really only by our imaginations and nothing else---will be abundantly available, commercially profitable and of transcendent importance in shaping the very nature of what education is to be. Define then if you will a school, or a public library or a school library media center. Impossible. Yet these are matters which deal with information, access to it and its use by our citizens and are tradition concerns to all librarians.

School library media programs for the eighties--all library media programs for the eighties--will be capacious and increasingly complex. That these programs will be developed and put into service during an era immediately ahead which portends little more than the crisis times of the past, to which we are both accustomed and ignured to coexisting with is accepted. Is it possible to do this? Our answer must be yes! Ralph Waldo Emerson remarked "Can anyone

remember when the times were not hard and money not scarce?" What a remarkably accurate if uncomfortably real expression of our times. They emphasize the core of truth which is found at the heart of all cliches, indeed, "the more things change, the more they remain the same."

This essay, as essays of this sort do, raises far more issues, challenges and questions than it provides answers to or responses for. The lack of definite answers to difficult questions about what the future will be, or of predictable responses or solutions to problems associated with that future is a fact of life; one we either learn to live with or surrender to in despair. This is true too, in the library media programs as they seek the best way to establish their proper role within American education during the decade of the eighties. But they will do this, their options being the same, to change or be rendered obsolete through an inability to accept this change which is an inevitable accomplishment of times passage.

D. Philip Baker
Coordinator of Library Media Programs
Stamford Public Schools
Stamford, Connecticut 06902
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LIBRARIES, INFORMATION, FREEDOM AND CHILDREN

Prepared at the request of Honorable Carl Perkins

Peggy Sullivan
Assistant Commissioner for Extension Services
The Chicago Public Library
425 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

(003)

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LIBRARIES, INFORMATION, FREEDOM AND CHILDREN

The year 1979 was the International Year of the Child and the year of the first White House Conference on Libraries and Information Services. The former celebrated the rights of children, and the latter, with several focuses, was concerned with freedom of information, fiscal support of libraries, and the rights of all age groups to the best of library and information service. Without being antithetical in purpose or outcome, there were differences and contradictions in the two events which might benefit from more exploration and concern.

In one of the discussions that preceded the White House Conference, the point was made that libraries have placed too much stress on books and reading, too little on information. Those of us who find personal delight in reading may react to such a statement with strong negatives, but, although I number among those who would find life stale and perhaps unlivable without books and the power of reading, I believe that one aspect of the failure of libraries is that we have not always stressed what we do provide and can provide in the way of information. This is especially critical when we are concerned with library services to youth.

Libraries have been and are places of refuge and pleasure for children and young people. Public libraries are, for many children, the first places where they are recognized as individuals, identified with library cards of their own, welcomed into preschool story hours, and allowed to find things on their own. School libraries extend that freedom and welcome, providing resources of setting and materials that allow the individuality of reports and the pleasure of search as well as the satisfaction of accomplishment that enriches education. Both kinds of libraries need support from their communities and the sources of their funds to provide all this as well as they are capable of providing it. But because so much of a child's time in a library is associated with pleasure, we do need to remind ourselves that what may seem recreational and/or supplemental to us as adults is often, for children and young people, intellectually demanding and educational in the fullest sense of that word.

An easy example is the story hour for children from three to five years old, a typical public library activity. The day of the week when the story hour is scheduled is special for the child from the beginning because he is aware that his schedule is a part of the

library's, the family's pattern. He comes, he has a name tag dropped over his head, he looks over the rest of the group, and he enters the story hour. It may be the first time he has gone off, escorted by another adult, and left his mother behind. He listens to a story, he is distracted by another child, he gently taps a triangle when a rhythm band is formed, he follows the other children into a circle, he attempts to follow the librarian's nimble fingers in some rhyming finger games, and before he knows it, it is time to leave. It's a simple experience, and, because it happens all the time, we do not pay much attention to the educational aspects of it. The child has learned to listen, and, perhaps later, over lunch or dinner or in the car on the way home, he is learning to report on his own activities and observations. He has seen himself in reference to others, noting the bravado and the shyness of others, and he senses that all of this is a foreshadowing of school and of the educational life that is waiting for him. What may look like fun to us adults is, indeed, pleasurable for the child, but it represents effort and struggle, action and response. He is getting information in his own way.

When libraries are used in the best ways, they require effort. Learning to use the library and its resources is a valuable tool, useful in many aspects of life. Locational skills are as applicable to road

maps or blueprints as they are to libraries or airports. The person who has learned them has learned how to cope with many aspects of life. The heightened interest which librarians have in conveying these skills to others is one of the reassuring trends of our time. The ways of teaching range from the simplest approaches of the elementary school to the formal courses becoming more common in higher education, just as the content includes far more than "something about the Dewey Decimal System," with opportunities for learners to create their own programs on small computers and to become familiar with techniques of searching for information in many formats.

Learning about libraries and learning to use the information they make available depend on freedom. Purposeless meandering through a library may give some moments of pleasure, but it should not be confused with purposeful, satisfying browsing and searching for materials. Just as skill in finding what one wants or needs is somewhat satisfying in itself, even before the need is completely satisfied, freedom of access allows for choice, and, while it may sometimes make life more complex, as freedom has a way of doing, it also makes life more satisfying. And libraries are excellent examples of the tensions that will always exist between

full freedom and the rights of all.

Many times, a child's first experience with the rights of commonly-held property is acquired at a library. "Yes, of course, you can take it home," is a welcome statement, but the often-unspoken "But you must bring it back and take care of it so others can enjoy it, too," is part of that freedom of access being tasted for the first time. The annoyance that library-users experience when they arrive at the right shelf but find it empty of what they are seeking, or, perhaps worse, find the information they most need has been carefully clipped out by someone ahead of them, is a common enough experience. However, when the solution to it involves an increase in non-circulating materials or heavier security by the library, everyone's freedom is constrained because of the failure of some to recognize the rights of others. And freedom is not limitless. When a small community library offers films for children in its reading room, the regular senior citizens who frequent the library may be annoyed because their space, their light, their quiet are diminished by the children's activity. Every aspect of librarianship, from the design of buildings to the timing of programs or the development of collections of resources, presents trade-offs in rights and responsibilities, opportunities and limitations.

Intellectual freedom works the same way. Free access to information is a benefit to the individual, but, especially in terms of youth, this access may limit the influence of others over the young. The parent who says, "Of course, my kids can read anything," when he means, ". . . anything I bring into the house for them to read," is really making choices for them, and it is his right to do so. He may be discomfited or angry when they choose books about drugs or pick up information that is biased about their own ethnic group or religion, but if his efforts to define the range of his own children's freedom result in limitations on the freedom of all young people in his community, they are really censorious. Freedom is fragile but especially precious when it is a part of the heritage of youth. Other subtle curtailments of it for young people occur when some of the services of libraries are denied them arbitrarily on the basis of age alone. Sometimes, these are denied to all students, as when one must prove one is not a student (not always an easy task) in order to use certain library reference materials. More often, denial of such services as interlibrary loans to children is the kind of curtailment of freedom that diminishes us all.

The International Year of the Child encountered criticism when observers understood that it was a means of drawing attention to the international statement on the rights of children. Parents were warned that their children would be lured away from them into some phony freedoms, and the idea that the practice of freedom requires respect both for those who give the freedom and those who exercise it was too often forgotten in the heat of controversy. We who are concerned about education, libraries, information, and youth need to remind ourselves and others of the obligations that all opportunities entail and the full extent of all freedom which education and information help to provide for us all.

How does all of this apply to the future? As life becomes more complex and knowledge more necessary for the simplest kind of life, we need to be sure that young people have access to the tools that will enable them to construct their lives as they need to do. Information is critical, and libraries as the purveyors of that information need support from all of us, critical evaluation from many of us, and great commitment from those of us who are a part of the library world. The educational role of the library is an important one, and the provision of information is not enough. Educating

young people to be self-sufficient in obtaining, interpreting and using that information is an essential function. Instructional programs in library use, development of resources and procedures that make information most generously available, recognition of all the ways that information can be acquired and used, and encouragement of the freedom to search and choose and finally develop one's own ideas -- these are the activities that are sure to occupy us in the coming final quarter of the century.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR

**THE NIGHT PEOPLE
THE DROP-INS
THE YOUNG ADULTS
THE DIAPER CROWD
THE MID-LIFERS**

**Martha Dell Sanders
Director of Instruction and
Professional Development
Kentucky Education Association
101 West Muhammad Ali Boulevard
Louisville, Kentucky 40202**

(012)

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR

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MARTHA DELL SANDERS

Americans talk glibly of universal education, our dream - our reality, but we have only just begun. We have an excellent base with our elementary and secondary linear model. We understand that base and by understanding it so well, we are to the point that all things are possible for making education truly universal in the 80's.

We started by educating a select group of boys, then the girls, then the masses, then the blacks, then the other ethnic groups, between the ages of six to eighteen. We need to give some immediate attention to the night people, the drop-ins, the young adults, the diaper crowd and the mid-lifers.

We should staff and operate our schools twenty-four hours a day. They are more important than any factory or business operating in the world today. Many parents work shifts, thousands work night jobs. A recent poll showed that 13,000,000 people listened to one midwestern radio station almost every night between 12:00 A.M. and 6:00 A.M.

These night people have night children. We can no longer assume, as educators, that Mother is home with the kids while Dad works at night and will get them off to school the next morning. Who takes care of these children at night? There are no night-care centers for these parents to turn to. Teachers could work one shift, many, or parts of several.

Recently I arrived in Washington, D. C. at 10:00 P.M. I took a cab to the hotel and the driver had his two year old daughter with him. He told me that

he works all night and has no one to care for her so he just takes her in the cab all night every night. At least she had some adult supervision that way. There are thousands of night children in America with no supervision at night because of the economic necessity of their parents or guardians working.

With the kind of technology we have for the 80's, these children could be shift scheduled to fit their parents schedules and vacation time. This would allow parents and students more time together and relieve a lot of anxiety about the care of the children. Teachers would find fewer heads on desks during the traditional 8 to 3 school day. The school buildings would be better utilized and the taxpayers dollars better spent.

When I refer to the drop-ins, I am talking about the thirteen, fourteen, fifteen year old students who want and/or need to leave school to get a job. They should be allowed to do this without the stigma of being called a drop-out. Here again, if we had schools operating on three shifts, these kids could drop-in to a school shift that would allow them to complete their education. They might even stay out a year or two before they drop back in. There are no reasons, other than arbitrary ones, that say all children should have completed their secondary education by the time they are eighteen or nineteen. The kids of the 80's will live to be a hundred and twenty years old. Why do they have to go through the paces originally designed for people with a life expectancy of 45?

Some of these drop-ins might be employed and paid by the school system. As we think of creative ways to employ the youth of our country, we might even consider a paid internship for the majority of these children when they perform roles such as cross-age tutors, recreation leaders, basic skills instructors, secretaries, child-care helpers, etc. for the professional teaching staff. This

would be an excellent way to train students to get along with all types of people in an authority position in a work situation.

There are many young adults who need and would like to go back to school. Currently, our schooling process makes it difficult for them. They are not confident enough of themselves to take a test and try to go onto a higher education institution. They need to go back to a secondary situation, without the stigma of being "too old" to get the training they need to have gainful employment.

Speaking of young adults brings us to the "diaper crowd." Schools should have facilities and programs for these infants. The parents and infants could attend the same school during the same shift. Father might take infant daughter and go to school on one shift while Mother works the same shift. Mother might even go to school on another shift, etc. The possibilities are limitless. The rewards for our society, our country, would be fantastic.

The mid-lifers should also have a lot of consideration in our dream for elementary-secondary universal education in this country. Just because you have spent your entire working life in one profession does not mean you should be doomed to continue that role the rest of your life or the current alternative of forty years as an unemployed senior citizen. These people should have options available to make these changes. They should have opportunities provided by the school systems to go in for counseling, exploration, problem-solving analysis of their current skills, individualized programs for re-training or re-cycling for new types of jobs.

The process called RIF or Reduction in Force should have a built-in system that would provide monies for re-training these people in our society. Most unions have not as yet negotiated RIF monies for re-training but they should. This would be one of the finest fringe benefits any group of employees

could have. To my knowledge, insurance companies have not been very creative in this whole area either.

During the 80's, the Elementary and Secondary Education Committee could help make our people the most humane, literate and productive this world has ever known through their continued efforts of proposing legislation for universal education. I would like to see the country's slogan become, "If I have to pay taxes, let me pay them for education."

COMMUNITY SERVICE: A CASE STUDY

by Anthony L. Cassen, Coordinator

Westtown School is a Quaker coeducational day and boarding school, K-12, under the care of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, founded in 1799 and located in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

I. Introduction

At the end of the first year of operation, the Westtown Service Network could legitimately claim to have become an accepted institution at Westtown School. In theory, this could be expected, since Westtown's Quaker heritage incorporates the concept of service into its philosophy of education. Administration, faculty, and students have always adhered to this tradition not only in their testimonies at Meeting for Worship but also in many facets of the active life of the school.

For service to be translated into practice, however, on a significant scale, a degree of organization is required that demands time, thought, personnel, and a budget to underwrite what all this involves.

When the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation granted the school in June, 1978, \$30,000 for two years to conduct a community service program, the event might have been described as that happy one when preparation met opportunity. Suddenly, the means were provided to translate years of struggling effort into one of the most educationally and socially meaningful programs that a Quaker school has experienced.

After the initial excitement created by the grant had subsided, the coordinator of the Network had to take certain realities of school life into consideration, including the number one enemy of all institutions: time. Education is such a broad and infinite experience that any one facet of it, however important, must compete with a multitude of others: academics, athletics, activities, leisure. And each of these areas, with their many subdivisions, has many proponents competing with each other for priorities. Both faculty and students, in spite of their philosophical leanings, will compete for their sector of interest.

Translated into the mechanics of school living, these problems had to be confronted:

1. Arrangement of the daily schedule to provide time for service.
2. Exploration of a broad range of social agencies and organizations that needed help, could provide work compatible with the developmental stages of high school students, and constituted a sufficient variety to accommodate a broad range of student interest.
3. Orientation of the faculty to the opportunities provided by experiential education and to the methods of applying it in the classroom.
4. Recruitment of student volunteers in grades 7 - 12.
5. Orientation of student volunteers at the agencies.

6. Evaluation process for agencies and students to provide reliable data on the program for all parties concerned.
7. Arrangement of transportation.
8. Recruitment of volunteer drivers.
9. Public relations to provide outreach of the program into the broad community, and, in accordance with the mandate of the grant, with particular emphasis on other schools.

The summer of 1978 was devoted to solving these problems so that the program could be launched when the students returned in September. It should be noted that during this time the school presented the coordinator with a generous grant to attend a conference conducted by the National Network of Complementary Schools in Portland, Oregon, where off-campus program coordinators from all over the country assembled to discuss the nature of their work. Unquestionably, this seminal experience provided much of the impetus for future planning.

II. Implementation

A. Time

Discussion of the program's implementation will include both the achievements and failures encountered in dealing with the problems above.

The arrangements for time in the school schedule and for a basic mode of transportation were administrative decisions that the headmaster could make speedily and effectively. The period for volunteer service was designated between the end of class day and dinner, a three-hour block that, following careful negotiation by the headmaster with the athletic directors to avoid conflict with varsity sports, was given absolute priority over other activities. Free time in the evenings and weekends was also made available for scheduling. Problems inevitably resulted from this decision, but these will be treated under the topic of recruitment.

B. Transportation

For transportation, it was decided to purchase a 15-passenger van that would be kept exclusively for the purposes of the Network. The actual scope of the program, however, was to require the use of other school vehicles and private cars, property of volunteer drivers.

C. Agencies

With these decisions taken, the coordinator was free to explore the potential of agencies in the area. It was not hard to find a variety that needed help and that could accommodate our students, although our timing during the day could have been better. They began to fall into the general categories of Old Age, Mental Health, Mental Retardation, Health, Children, Hispanic Peoples, and Women.

1. Old Age

Old age provided five very different types of programs conducted by Kendal and Crosslands Health Services, Friends Boarding Home, Friends Hall, and Friendly Visitors Program. Each of these programs was to yield a different experience due to the type of organization and service required and the socio-economic groups of the elderly.

Kendal and Crosslands

Both Kendal and Crosslands are retirement communities of a unique nature. The residents, for the most part, are wealthy professionals still active in their fields in consultative capacities. There is a strong Quaker element present, particularly in their self-government by committee. The Health Services, part of the administration, provide care for those who are ill but not in need of hospitalization. Students were asked to provide companionship and services for the patients on a one-to-one basis, usually in the form of letter-writing, sewing, gardening, maintaining address books, reading, and conversation. The student reaction to begin with was interesting: why are we needed here? These people have everything. Why are we not helping the poor? Likewise, the residents could not understand why we were visiting in Health Services; they felt the patients did not need our help. Fortunately, the Kendal and Crosslands administrators felt differently: these people under our care are lonely, they don't receive visitors very often, they said, even from the other residents.

Students were quick to note that the problems of old age do not necessarily relate to economics! - particularly the problem of loneliness. As one student put it, "I learned how much these people we were visiting liked visiting with us, and how much they looked forward to seeing us. That really made me feel good and needed." Another wrote, "I needed companionship and conversation as he was recovering from his injury. When I first met him he was very disoriented. He has progressed to the point where he could be anybody's alert grandfather." Another learned that "you must not treat older people like children, which the director of activities did. There was much resentment toward this attitude." One girl felt "I was doing her a favor by reading her newspaper to her while I was learning about the life before they had modern cars and other machines we have today." As far as the students were concerned, they learned to relate to old people, to understand the workings of a retirement community, to maintain a relationship, and perhaps most important of all, they felt needed and found friends.

The experience with Kendal-Crosslands residents who were not suffering from health problems was much more complex but very revealing. It required several meetings at Kendal to communicate our purpose, and Crosslands residents have only just drawn up plans to participate next year. The residents, as active, highly educated people, were suspicious of our title, Service Network. They are very independent people, many of whom have held high corporate positions, and are used to directing people. Their transition to retirement, regardless of their continuation in

consultative capacities in industry and professions, was obviously difficult. Certainly they did not need help in the usual sense. Despite their defensiveness, however, their resident committees drew up plans whereby they would actively share their storehouse of experience with the students in the form of lectures and teaching at Westtown or of shared programs at Kendal and Crosslands. Kendal took the lead by identifying their resources. Elizabeth Gray Vining, the Quaker novelist, for example, made two visits to Westtown to discuss creative writing and journal writing. Artist residents also participated in an art show for the elderly and attended many cultural events at the school. The purpose of intergenerational learning was being attained, but this time the elderly were helping us, a position more acceptable to the residents, and obviously gratifying to their own needs for continued activity in retirement. One resident's reaction was typical: "I'll do one-time round stuff, but I don't want to be pinned down to a schedule like I have been all my life."

Friends Boarding Home

To off-set the experience of a high-income retirement community, we included Friends Boarding Home in West Chester, where residents are of moderate to low income. Students noted particularly the loneliness of the residents there: "Although the home has some activities planned for their residents, most of them are bored and enjoy our visits to look forward to." One student commented, however, that these "old people don't think they are worth visiting, so we make them feel worthwhile -- they are shy, as a result, to begin with. It's hard for them to believe we are not bored." In fact, it was noted that "talking to them about their experiences was fascinating," and again the students felt needed. Later on in the year, the students were invited to a buffet supper at the Home, which resulted in their meeting the whole community, easing relationships considerably.

Friends Hall (Art-on-Wheels)

A unique program conducted at Friends Hall, a Quaker nursing home in West Chester, is Art-on-Wheels, which, until Network volunteers got involved, was a one-person operation under the supervision of local artist Margaret Clews. She had been making pastel portraits of residents, framing them, and presenting them to the subjects on the theory that "looking, seeing, and making pictures are very basic forms of communication." The results produced feelings of self-importance among the recipients because they shared center stage for long periods of time and could display the products to visitors. Six quite skilled Westtown art students joined in the program under Ms. Clews' instruction. One of them observed: "The old people we were drawing took a great interest in our art and obviously enjoyed the sessions as much as we did. It was a positive good for them, and it broke up the monotony they must feel. The whole experience taught me not only the obvious, how to draw better, but also the satisfaction one can get from helping other people through art."

Friendly Visitors Program

Students were drawn out of the institutional pattern for care of the aged as they experienced the Friendly Visitors Program conducted by Family Services of Chester County. Here they visited the lower income elderly one-on-one in their own homes to provide companionship and perform duties for them, including reading, cleaning, and running errands to the stores. The more personal nature of this assignment made it more complex -- the old people were sensitive about their homes and who came into them. Sometimes the personalities or the sexes were mismatched by the agency, and students had to be reassured they were not at fault. It was perhaps in this program that individual relationships became strongest, however, even to the point of two students continuing their visitations over their vacation periods. Gifts, food, and flowers were exchanged often. Student evaluations were invariably enthusiastic. Loneliness of the old people in their own homes was a constant theme. One student wrote: "I think he really needed a Friendly Visitor to listen to his problems and empathize with him and make him less lonely. However, it was definitely a two-way relationship and I also learned a lot, not only about him and the type of life he led, but about myself and how I can communicate and have a relationship with someone else who in many ways is very different from me . . . If everyone could have a relationship like that, old people would be better off because young people would understand their needs better." This particular experience helped the boy to cope with his own type of loneliness at school. Another student had the experience of seeing her lady give up her home and enter a nursing home (Friends Hall), with the resulting upheaval that ensues. This girl was the only one who could write letters for her to her family in North Carolina.

2. Mental Health

There were only two agencies in the Network concerned exclusively with the emotionally disturbed: Haverford State Hospital and the West Chester Support Clinic. This was largely due to the difficulties with volunteer placement at the high school age and with our time schedule.

Haverford State Hospital

With little orientation and inadequate supervision, five students were plunged into the Friday evening recreation and socialization program at the hospital. It was a scary experience relating to patients over bowling, pool, and ping-pong, and to begin with the students tended to cling together or look for support from the faculty member present, in this case myself. I noted the tendency of some students to over-identify with the patients' problems, and in one case a girl had difficulty coping with mildly overt sexual advances. They entered the program for one trimester and began to learn about the nature of insanity and some of the inhuman inadequacies of institutions forced to rely so heavily on medication as a means of control. One student found the experience so powerful that it became the subject

of a college essay. All felt they were needed there, if only to present new and normal faces from the outside world. Due to problems mentioned, the program was discontinued after one trimester.

Community Support Clinic

This is an out-patient clinic where medication and recreational activities are provided for persons released from mental hospitals. Two students participated all year under the supervision of a young Westtown alumna in charge of activities. This was an area where the volunteers were very limited in terms of patient contact and spent most of their time planning recreation for the few patients who might be interested. Agency anxiety about the maturity level of the students, the desire to protect them, and inter-office conflicts prevented the program from being truly beneficial to either parties.

2. Mental Retardation

A very broad range of experience with mental retardation was provided, that included both institutional and group home approaches to the problem. It is a choice of approach that presently is being widely debated in Pennsylvania in the context of the closing of Pennhurst, which has become a focus of national attention.

The agencies represented in the program were: Elwyn Institute, The Devereux Foundation, and Community Homes, Inc. Also included was service in "patterning" for a local parent's son. He was enrolled in the unique program of the Institute for Human Potential in Philadelphia.

Work in this field produced the strongest emotional demands on the students and yielded, by its nature, the least visible rewards.

Elwyn Institute

Elwyn is the oldest private institution for the retarded in the United States with magnificent facilities. Westtown students had worked there to a less intensive degree before the Network was initiated and continued to do so last year in one-to-one play therapy that required a two-trimester commitment. They developed a real feeling of responsibility for their children, learned about the problems confronting the retarded, and developed some expertise in finger-spelling. They detected a hard professionalism in the staff, however, which led to their complaining to the director of volunteers. As with some other agencies for the retarded, it was noted that the staff and the volunteer office did not always communicate too well, and that staff, in some cases, showed resentment, or at best indifference, in their attitude toward volunteers.

The Devereux Foundation

The Glen Loch West campus near West Chester cares for the emotionally disturbed and retarded from age five to adulthood. Students chose to work with a variety of child and adolescent age groups but avoided working with adults. The director of recreation was extremely competent and took great care that adequate orientation and supervision was available to the volunteers. The twelve who worked there found the recreation programs valuable to forming relationships which became close and cherished by both parties. The only complaint from the agency was insufficient time. One student commented: "I learned a great deal about the problems of institutions designed for the mentally ill and handicapped. . . My experiences gave me perspective on my life here at school. I found that no one is too retarded to understand love." The student pinpointed, however, the problem where an institution attempts to provide therapy for people with diverse problems and backgrounds - "It often lumps them together, making counselors' duties next to impossible and decreasing the patient's individuality. This is a prime complaint of social workers in and out of Devereux." Another wrote: "I always looked forward to going and seeing my friend. It has taught me so much . . . that I could never learn from a textbook. I always felt great when a young boy felt that he could rest on my lap or hug me, or just run to me with a smile from across the room. Nothing could compare with this beautiful experience."

Community Homes, Inc.

This agency ran several group homes in widely scattered areas of Chester County for children and adults, many of whom had been de-institutionalized from Embreeville and Pennhurst. Our volunteers worked at two group homes for profoundly retarded children - Brian's House (privately funded) and Exton group home (State funded).

- a. Brian's House - This was certainly the toughest assignment in the Network since students were working with a group of 12 profoundly retarded between the ages of 5 - 18. They learned some elements of physical therapy and sign language. They would have preferred more guidance in their work, but they realized that they did help a very over-worked staff in a newly established agency with many growing problems.
- b. Exton Group Home - There were only two profoundly retarded here, ages 6 and 11, living in a small private home. Perhaps the most encouraging note here was that, since de-institutionalization, the children had made slow but recognizable progress. Again, however, the distance between professional staff and volunteers was noted by the students at both of these agencies. Failure of their help to be overtly recognized really hurt.

4. Health

Two agencies participated in the Network's program: The Red Cross and the Alfred I. DuPont Institute.

The Red Cross

The Brandywine Chapter of Southeastern Pennsylvania provided two programs: clerical aid, and Bloodmobile. The first experience did not work well and had to be terminated at the end of the second trimester. The revealing fact was that volunteers preferred person-to-person contact to office work. This held true for other agencies too. It was not enough to point out to the student that office help was needed; their motivation had to be considered if volunteer service was to be successful.

The Bloodmobile, on the other hand, provided very concrete experiences where the student assisted the nurses with first aid procedures in taking blood. The program also involved travel to different parts of the county.

A problem in relationships did develop even here, however. Staff tended to regard volunteers as "very young who couldn't be trusted to do anything without direct supervision."

Alfred I. DuPont Institute

The Institute is a "diagnostic, treatment, educational and research facility dedicated to the care and treatment of children from infancy through adolescence with special emphasis on orthopedic, plastic surgery, neuromuscular disorders, rehabilitation and other developmental problems." Volunteers worked in two programs: the first was on the wards in one-to-one companionship therapy and meals assistance; the second was in the Child Life Program, a pioneering effort in psychiatric medicine (conducted by Dr. Peter Schindler, Westtown consulting psychiatrist) to speak to the emotional needs of children hospitalized for lengthy periods after major surgery.

The student reaction to the experience was unanimously favorable. One student wrote: "I think we broke up some of the girls' long, isolated hours of boredom, pain, and homesickness. . . One of my original objectives was to meet and feel comfortable with physically handicapped people. I certainly reached this goal". A member of the staff later informed us that one of the volunteers definitely turned the emotional tide for a young Jamaican patient. This student commented: "Exchanging addresses is not uncommon, patients usually get to know your schedule and anticipate your arrival - and it is easy to establish a good rapport with them... The feeling which touched me most was the little girl's grip on my hand, asking me to stay a while longer. That was nice."

Experience in these programs led to seniors choosing to work at DuPont for their senior projects and to career choices in physical therapy.

5. Children

Grouped under this heading were three very different types of agencies or organizations, dealing with emotionally deprived children (Children's Cottage), delinquents (Sleighton School), and religious education for primary school students (First Day School).

Children's Cottage

This agency provides residential facilities for children up to the age of 18 who come from deprived backgrounds. The Young unit where our volunteers worked, is really a holding operation for children awaiting placement in foster homes by Children's Services of Delaware County. The children, from age 6 - 15, invariably come from families where drug and alcohol addiction and poverty created emotional problems, sometimes even mental retardation. All suffered from neglect and abuse.

The volunteers were engaged in three programs to help these children, two of them involving tutoring, the third, recreation. Partly due to the plight and partly due to the appeal of these children, this was probably the most successful relationship established with a Network agency. These children became part of our school family.

- a. Tutoring at Lima, Pa. - A small group of students went to Children's Cottage to help the children in their own environment for one-on-one tutoring in basic subject areas. The assignment was difficult because attention span was short. One volunteer, herself an adopted child, commented: "I felt I had to help these children and try to give them things that a normal family life would have. Baking, tender-loving-care were among the things I tried to make up for. . . It gave me the opportunity to realize and appreciate my home life and how lucky I really am."
- b. Tutoring at Westtown School - Every Thursday evening the same children would visit here for more tutoring, and because they were in a new environment, one which the agency pointed out surpassed their wildest dreams, the experience was quite different. They learned, visited the library and bird museum, and met a number of other students as well as their tutors. Academics improved, according to the agency, but the volunteer evaluations seemed to place higher priority on the aspect of human relations. Volunteers learned about the problems of teaching, planning, and the need for patience, but above all they developed big-brother, big-sister relationships. Perhaps the most revealing comment from one student came when she wrote: "It brought me to the reality of how much parents influence their children's lives."

- c. Recreation at Westtown School - Every Saturday morning the same children arrived here for recreation: activities that included hiking, canoeing, playing games, dancing, and clay modeling. They had the full run of Westtown's extensive facilities and campus. It was perhaps here that the real family feeling was generated, and the agency commented later that "it was the best thing that had ever happened to Children's Cottage." The volunteers planned the activities and ended the year with a special picnic for the group. It might be added here that for boarding students to give up their Saturday mornings constituted a powerful gesture.

Sleighton School

This is a Delaware County co-ed institution for hard-core juvenile delinquents, reputed now to be the toughest in the Philadelphia region. Volunteers were asked to provide athletic competition there for the primary purpose of establishing role models in sportsmanship. Games included basketball, volleyball, softball, and touch football.

The results were almost entirely favorable. The volunteers were impressed with the friendliness and courtesy of the children and their desire to continue the relationship throughout the year. Unquestionably, they welcomed seeing new faces and the competition, although they continued to query why our students had consigned themselves to a boarding school. "What are you in for?" they would ask.

As the relationship developed, Sleighton children began to visit here to play our Varsity basketball team, and a healthy rivalry developed in this sport in which they particularly prided themselves. Invariably, they were beaten due to "street ball tactics" against an organized team, but they took this in their stride. The volunteers were invited to several social occasions at Sleighton, including a disco Hallowe'en dance, where the hospitality was impressive. All games played at Sleighton were followed by refreshments, and socialization.

The most ringing comment came from the student who wrote: "I'm no longer scared of criminals, because I used to stereotype them."

First Day School

The equivalent of a Sunday School is conducted by Westtown Monthly Meeting for children in the primary grades. Volunteers were asked to be teachers' aides and also to provide a baby-sitting service for families attending Meeting. All students claimed by this experience to have learned about teaching and relationships with children. One student, the daughter of novelist Jan deHartog, wrote: "I was helping the four and five year olds to recognize feelings. We did a whole series of lessons on Anger, Sadness, and other emotions. These first opinions and feelings, especially about God, are very important in regard to their later knowledge of God and of concepts of other religions."

6. Hispanic Peoples

One of the most challenging social problems confronting Chester County is providing adequate assistance to its Hispanic population, conservatively estimated at 28,000. Predominantly Puerto Rican, but also including Colombian and illegal Mexican residents, most of these people are migrant workers in the mushroom industry who, due largely to their language and cultural differences, are in need of a variety of social services. This was to be a prime field for our work, and many hours were devoted to setting up programs for our volunteers in both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking agencies. The original list included five, but only two survived. Apart from the social need present, it was hoped that Spanish language students at Westtown would derive particular benefit from these programs.

Farmworkers Corp., Inc.

This bi-state agency is designed to assist migrant workers in Southern Chester County, particularly on the mushroom farms. The student working there spoke Spanish constantly as she learned about the agency and the people they helped, but when the administrator was suddenly transferred, things fell into a state of disorganization. If more students had volunteered for this program, it is possible that more challenging work than office routine could have been provided like voter registration and housing surveys. The experience here lasted only one trimester.

Concilio Hispano

One student was recruited to work as an interpreter at this agency where a referral service was provided for Hispanic people seeking agency assistance. Again, the administrator was transferred, no clear direction was given to the volunteer and he chose to leave because he felt he was not needed.

Migrant Ministry

This organization collects clothes and household items and distributes them to needy people, mostly migrant workers. Several students worked in the sorting process, which they did not find challenging, but recognizing the real need present, they persisted. Their schedule did not permit them to meet as many people as they would have liked, but they did have the opportunity to converse in Spanish.

Helping Hand

This was a similar agency administered by the Retired Senior Volunteers Program in Southern Chester County. The function of the volunteer was more diverse here since it included filing and accounting as well as the sorting of clothes and household items. Again, there was a real need for help and some contact with Spanish-speaking customers, so the students remained in the program.

Visiting Nurse's Association

Volunteers were asked to assist at this agency with the administering of hearing and eye tests for 5-year-olds in Spanish-speaking families. The program began well. One student commented: "I felt I was helping others because the volunteer nurse could not speak Spanish, which would make it nearly impossible to give the kids tests. Also, we cut the work load off the other nurses quite a bit." Benefits to the volunteers were summarized in one case as follows: "I learned how to give aptitude tests and learning tests, gained a lot of patience, learned that some children are not nearly as able as others in their pre-school years, and found out how to deal with each one." Despite the real need & learning that took place, however, volunteers became discouraged when families for whom they had made appointments frequently failed to show up. As this became more and more the case, the program was terminated in the middle of the second trimester!

Women

There was only one agency in the area, the Women's Resource Center in West Chester, working in the field of abused women. There was an over-abundance of girls wanting to work there, but unfortunately, only two students could be accommodated. Women's rights are a popular concern at Westtown.

Women's Resource Center

The two volunteers accepted remained at the agency all year. The highlight of their experience was a 6-week training seminar that proved more valuable than the work they were doing. Their function at the agency was severely limited to observation, publicity, and occasional answering of telephones. The real work of dealing with crisis calls, therapeutic sessions, and referral was left to the professionals, who questioned the maturity level of the students to perform in these areas. Unquestionably, they were right, but this left the students with some feelings of dissatisfaction. One of them summed up the benefits this way: "I gained a knowledge of office procedures so that when I am qualified I will know how to handle situations; a greater sensitivity and awareness for abused women; a greater pride and inspiration to support and promote women and to work against sex discrimination."

D. Recruitment of Student Volunteers

A variety of methods were adopted to attract volunteers. At the start of each trimester assemblies were held featuring speakers from some of the agencies and students who recounted their volunteer experiences. Printed program description and application forms were also distributed in mailboxes. But after the first trimester, when some continuity had been established, many students volunteered again, and influenced others to do so. Because of student interests in other areas, particularly athletics, the volunteers were not

easily gained although their numbers (an average of 75 per trimester) would suggest so. The policy was established with athletes that a student who wished to participate on a varsity team would have to make a choice between that and Network because he or she could not be spared from practice. Given the pressure of coaches and the status of a varsity player, the contest was somewhat unequal. This hit particularly hard in the Spring term when the girls, who constituted some two thirds of the volunteers, had an extensive varsity program. The second area that interfered with recruitment among the older students was the pressure of academic work.

Despite the road-blocks, student response was encouraging. The heaviest enrollment came from the juniors and seniors. Although the girls heavily outnumbered the boys, the proportion of boys increased as the year continued. The total number of students who participated (129) was approximately one third of the Upper School. And they managed to fill 258 agency positions, which meant in fact that the majority of students participated in two or more programs. Two students held the record of working in nine programs each (three per trimester), the equivalent of 279 volunteer hours per student.

On the balance, the climate of the school for recruitment was favorable, bearing in mind that this was a new program competing for time in a busy schedule.

E. Orientation of Faculty

Complete details of the program were made available to the faculty at the beginning of the year. This included summaries of the three basic approaches to experiential education: psychological, moral, and methods of learning. Course correlations were also suggested to match the agencies selected.

The most direct use of the Network experience was made in English, History, and Spanish classes. Real opportunities in specialized areas were not available, however, because the school does not offer electives in such fields as psychology and child development. The curriculum is fairly conservative, and as in many schools now, the back-to-basics movement is in direct conflict with experimentation in and diversification of course offerings. Among many faculty members, class time is looked upon as primarily for covering traditional text-book material; they are not always open to other approaches to learning. Few teachers made use of the resource list developed by Kendal, for instance.

The integration of the Network with the classroom will be a slow process, but the signals are encouraging. The curriculum committee and the administration show sympathy with the goal, and generally the faculty support the idea that one way or another service will become a graduation requirement.

F. Recruitment of Volunteer Drivers

Perhaps nowhere was faculty support more forthcoming than in the area of transportation. The fourteen volunteer drivers during the year included 13 teachers and one parent. They drove a route one day a week for one trimester, and some volunteered for a second trimester. The parent drove all year. Five of the drivers also participated in the agency programs, which made their work more meaningful; in fact, two who worked at Kendal and one at DuPont became so involved with their people that they continued these relationships on a regular visitation basis after their term of driving had ended.

The successful operation of the program depended on these key people, who were also very helpful in counseling volunteers and evaluating their feelings about their work.

G. Evaluation Process for Students and Agencies

The closest we would come to an objective measurement of the impact of the program was to initiate an evaluative process involving both agencies and students, using standardized forms. Most of the agencies were cooperative and completed their evaluations at the end of each trimester. Ratings of student performance were invariably high -- only one student was asked not to return. Sometimes the evaluations were accompanied by covering letters expressing general impressions, most of which were very favorable. The Health & Welfare Council of Chester County conducted its own survey of Network agencies and also received favorable responses, although some regretted that the volunteers were unable to work for a longer period of time.

Not all students responded to the request for their evaluations -- a few regarded this as an invasion of privacy, but most responded. When asked to compare the Network with other Westtown experiences on a scale of 1 to 10, the students gave an average rating of 7.6 for the year. Their evaluations make very interesting reading and are the source of all comments quoted in part II C.

H. Public Relations

Reports in the press and in school publications were particularly useful in educating the broader community in the work of the Network. The effects were several: agencies began to call us for help, other schools expressed interest in operating a similar program and requested details, and the image of the school became in-gan to change as more and more people from the outside became involved in its affairs. Reports have also been received from the Admissions Office that prospective parents and students have been attracted by the program. Generally, it would seem that a private school, viewed often by the public as exclusive in nature (no matter how strong its scholarship program), can only benefit from its involvement in a community service program.

III. The Future

The basic structure of the program has remained the same for the school year 1979-80, but there are new opportunities for service provided. Friends Hospital, the oldest private psychiatric institution in America, agreed to take volunteers to work there on weekends, Friday through Sunday, on a trial basis for the Fall trimester. Meals and accommodations are provided. Manchester House, a large nursing home in Media, includes volunteers in an art therapy program. Finally, Tyler Arboretum involves students in their after-school nature study program for elementary school children, in grounds maintenance, and in their book store and library. All three additions to the program add new dimensions to the Network experience.

Recruitment is proving an easier task now that the program is familiar to a majority of the students, as are other facets of organization. Meanwhile, the administration has encouraged the coordinator to seek funding for its program for a third year from private foundations. Proposals are being submitted this Fall to several foundations, and the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends has already granted over one third of the 1980-81 budget. After the third year of operation, the school will decide whether to continue to seek outside funding or to absorb the cost of the program into the annual budget. Either way, everything would seem to indicate that the Westtown Service Network has a long and useful life ahead of it.

CAN WE HAVE EQUALITY AND EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE?
A PROPOSAL FOR MAXIMUM GAIN FOR MINIMUM INVESTMENT

James J. Gallagher, Director
Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center
Kenan Professor, School of Education
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Policy Paper for
Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and
Vocational Education
Carl Perkins, Chairman
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(632)

The Issue

The massive decentralized enterprise we call American education has no shortage of paradoxes. Divided into thousands of semi-independent school systems this enterprise directly involves, as student or teacher, one out of every four Americans, and indirectly many more (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1978).

There is hardly any more puzzling issue than how the most gifted and talented of our students are treated in our public schools. Despite manifest evidence of their potential adult contributions to a society with many desperate problems crying for solution, the schools rarely provide special stimulation for the enhancement of youthful gifts, even when such stimulation could have the greatest cost benefits of any other investment we can make in education.

Gallagher (1979) has proposed that we, as a society, have a strong love-hate relationship with the gifted. On one hand, we revere the gifted individual who has risen from a humble background. We are proud to live in a society where talent can triumph over environment, or family status. At the same time, since our origins came from battling an aristocratic elite, we are suspicious of attempts to subvert our commitment to egalitarianism. We do not wish a new elite class to develop, and as a result we seem to waver in our attitudes. We design our elementary and secondary programs for gifted students in ways that can be defended by careful administrators as giving no special favors, no tipping the scales in favor of the socially powerful or the specially endowed.

John Gardner (1961) asked two decades ago whether we can be equal and excellent too, and we are still struggling to answer that question. In the long history of Western man, we have honored many gifted individuals who provided us with new perceptions of humanity, and its environment. Plato, Mendel, Copernicus, Freud, Darwin, Curie, Shakespeare, Bronte, and Piaget have each shown us a different portrait of ourselves and our world. Those changing portraits, in turn, have resulted in major transformation in our society and civilization (Goertzel & Goertzel, 1978).

Below this level of genius are layers of other often unrecognized gifted and talented individuals who have made significant, although less society-shaking, contributions. The scientific discoveries, the creative writing, the art, and the music that this second echelon of gifted individuals have produced also have played a major role in changing the fabric of our civilization.

If we ignore the education of these gifted and talented individuals, we cheat both them and the larger society of their true potential.

Some social forces that seem to inhibit more constructive planning for gifted have been identified as:

1. Egalitarianism - A strong belief in "equal" treatment and opportunity which has been translated into special educational efforts for children in crisis, but not for children with special gifts.
2. Universal Education - The noble commitment of U.S. to full education for all children creates a range of talents in junior and senior high schools that are difficult to manage or plan for.

3. Decentralization of Educational Decision Making - When each separate school district makes its own major educational decisions, the need for special education for the gifted does not seem as pressing as other, more immediate needs. The program stimulus for the gifted often comes from the state and federal levels of government where the societal needs are more apparent.
4. Sense of Societal Confidence - As long as there is confidence in the ability of the United States to conquer any obstacle, then the pressure to provide special educational help for the talented is quite low. When some of that overconfidence is lost, then there is increased pressure to build programs that would enhance the education of the most talented students in the society (and thus enhance our overall ability to meet and overcome crises).

Nor has the stimulation of our best students been an entirely novel idea. Thomas Jefferson, in his Notes on The State of Virginia stated,

We hope to avail the state of those talents which nature has sown as liberally among the poor as the rich, but which perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated.

Gifted education has profited, ironically, from World War II, the Sputnik crisis, and the current problems of energy, population pollution, and international conflict. The federal role in helping gifted students has been, however, tentative, oblique, and late.

Some programs, such as the National Defense Education Act and the National Science Foundation curriculum initiatives of the 1950-1960 era, aided many gifted students, but it was not until the Educational Amendments

of 1969, through a specific amendment proposed by Congressman John Erlenborn of Illinois, that the federal government took official cognizance of the existence of gifted and talented students (Jackson, 1979).

This amendment directed the U.S. Commissioner of Education to launch a study that was to have four basic objectives: a) to discover the extent to which special education provisions were necessary to meet the needs of gifted and talented children, b) to discover whether any existing federal programs were currently meeting some of those needs, c) to evaluate how programs of federal educational assistance could become more effective in meeting these needs, and d) to recommend what new programs were needed to meet them.

The congressional mandate was fulfilled on October 6, 1971, when U.S. Commissioner of Education Sidney P. Marland submitted to the Congress a document that can be viewed as the embryo of recent developments in gifted child education.¹ The Marland report offered recommendations for eleven actions to be taken under then existing legislative authority (P.L. 91-230, Sec. 806). The recommendations called for a) a planning report on implementing a federal role in educating the gifted and talented; b) the establishment of a staff within USOE for gifted education; c) a national survey of programs to find costs, evaluation procedures, and model programs and to develop a clearinghouse on gifted/talented education; d) the utilization of Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to strengthen capabilities for gifted/talented education; e) two national

¹Sidney P. Marland, Jr., *Education of the Gifted and Talented*, Vol. 1, Report to the Congress of the United States by the U.S. Commissioner of Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

summer leadership training institutes to upgrade supervisory personnel in state education agencies; f) program and research support for institutions interested in gifted children in minority groups; g) program activities specific to career education for the gifted and talented; h) special attention in one experimental school to project the relation between gifted and talented education and comprehensive school reform; i) cooperation with Title III programs; j) one staff member for each of the ten regional Offices of Education to be assigned to gifted and talented education; and k) the study of Office of Education programs relating to higher education to optimize their potential for the gifted and talented.

Current Status of Gifted Education

The history of support for programs for exceptional children in the U.S. Office of Education gives us some insight into the cultural problems of the gifted and the talented in our society. The federal government provides over \$900 million in Fiscal Year 1979 to improve the education of school-aged handicapped children. These dollars are certainly needed; in fact, they do not provide all that handicapped children need in the way of special education services. But during that same year, the federal government provided only slightly over \$3 million for gifted and talented children. In short, for every dollar spent on a gifted child for special education, \$100 is spent on a handicapped child.

Are these the appropriate expenditure proportions for exceptional children in our society? Probably not. It does reflect the political realities that attend our present system of crisis decision making in government. Gifted children suffer because they are a "cool," or

long-range, problem. Budget and legislative decisions are made not on the basis of what might be of ultimate benefit to society but on what is the greatest immediate crisis. Gifted children may be our best long-range investment in education, but they do not create problems of immediate significance; nor have they had a vocal constituency capable of extracting attention and dollars from public policymakers.

Mitchell and Erickson (1978, p. 13) reported from a national survey on current policies, resources, and services that the national picture of educational programs for gifted and talented children in 1976-77 was slightly better than it was in 1971-72: More gifted and talented students are being identified and served; more states have statutes and policy documents concerning their education; more money is being allocated to educational programs for these special children; more personnel are being assigned to work in this area; and more training is available. They concluded, however, that, "Despite the fact (that) there is 'more of everything' now than there was in 1972, . . . the United States still falls far short of meeting the educational needs of this special segment of its population."

One of the substantial changes that the federal legislation did bring about was a new definition which broadened our concept of gifted beyond the academic to include the performing arts, creativity, and leadership.

It also encouraged a search for minority group gifted students, often overlooked by traditional screening methods. Both of these trends furthered the attempt to democratize the gifted and recognize that many gifts can be found at all levels and walks of our society.

A Plan for Catalytic Support

The question now is, where do we go from here? With parents' groups forming active and sometimes militant interest groups, and educators themselves sensing a growing ground swell of interest, what is a reasonable role for the federal government to play to take advantage of the current momentum for special programs for the gifted at the state and the local level? I believe it is possible to amend and enhance Public Law 93-380 and Public Law 95-561 to provide a supportive and catalytic role at minimal expense to the federal government, but with maximum potential return to American citizens. This can be done through a specific enhancing of those support system elements that are at the heart of quality education programs. Five specific elements can be authorized, and a modest increase in appropriation could provide for the minimum support necessary to provide leadership and stimulate the continued and growing interest at the local and state levels. These are:

1. Leadership training. Past experience with the development of programs for handicapped children or vocational education have shown the importance of preparing, through higher education programs, key administrative leadership. This small cadre of administrators will then take important roles in state departments of education, teacher training institutions, and research institutes (Martin, 1976). The development of their ideas and their leadership can influence the field for the next two decades.

2. Continuous inservice training. It is clearly not enough to identify outstanding teachers and assign them to special programs for the gifted. Further, there is no likelihood that the universities, through preservice training programs, can provide the specialized training necessary for teachers of the gifted. What is more likely is that already established and competent elementary and secondary teacher training programs can provide the base upon which an intensive inservice training program, specially devoted to programmatic modifications for the gifted, can be built. Therefore, funds should be made available to states and local communities to allow for these inservice training programs to develop and multiply.
3. Research and development. In the search for quality programs there is perhaps nothing more needed than critical research on various aspects of gifted education. The growing trend to earmark already limited research funds for specific target groups such as the handicapped or the economically disadvantaged has reduced the small research resources available in education to almost nothing for gifted education. As long as such earmarked funds exist, it seems important to add a small amount of earmarked money for gifted education to stimulate research dealing with the instructional process, curriculum innovation, and program evaluation.
4. Demonstration programs. The expenditure of small sums of money to make visible those innovative and exemplary programs in all parts of the United States already in existence can place an

educational spotlight on successful and practical educational planning for gifted students in urban, rural, and suburban areas. By judicious selection, these programs can focus on programs enhancing minority group gifted, special programs in mathematics, gifted women, and other long neglected groups, as well as showing what can be done in more traditional program areas.

5. State leadership. In other fields of education, one of the most productive investments that the federal government has made is to provide for the addition to a state leadership team of someone specially interested and trained in those areas needing development and expansion. It has been demonstrated in a number of instances that the presence of such a trained and committed individual has been the key to further development of programs within the state. Therefore, providing small sums of seed money that allow the state departments to add to their staff in the area of program planning for the gifted could be a useful investment.

What is necessary to accomplish this catalytic thrust forward is a small increase to the current miniscule commitment to the gifted from the 6.28 million level for 1980 to the 50 million level.

The budget for such a catalytic program would be modest in terms of practically every other federal program in existence adding to less than 50 million per year, but its benefits would be immeasurable. An

example of such an allocation of funds could be as follows:

Leadership Training

10 programs 200K/program	\$ 2,000,000
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Inservice Training

250K/state x 50 states	\$12,500,000
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Research and Development

40 projects at 100K	\$ 4,000,000
6 projects at 250K	\$ 1,500,000

Demonstration

State 300K per 50 states	\$15,000,000
National 500K per/5	\$ 3,000,000

State Planning

30K x 50 states	\$ 1,500,000
	<u>\$39,500,000</u>

TOTAL

This would be sufficient to provide the catalytic base for exciting innovations and quality personnel. It is hoped that specific authorization for these support features could stimulate a more adequate appropriations level.

It is not conceived that any major direct support program from the federal level would be desirable or necessary. The federal government should remain in a catalytic stance stimulating already evidenced interests of the local and state educational leaders to provide them with the necessary additional stimulus to allow them to go forward on their own with direct service resources that they seem willing to provide.

This program would guarantee productive new insights and educational adventures at a minimum cost. It would aid gifted students, but more important, through them, benefit all students.

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INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE 1980's

by

Stuart A. Tonemah

(645)

656

The complexities of Indian Education have come about over the past decade because of the U.S. Congress's recognition of the special status of American Indians. This special status is a direct result of treaties signed with the indigenous tribes of this land and the United States. The treaties were based on a government to government relationship; a relationship of equals. Who would have thought that actions by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives with the various tribal leadership would effect their descendants today. Perhaps this paper on Indian education will have a similar effect on Americans both Indian and non-Indian in future years.

Regardless of future legislation which effects American Indian people, there must be legislative language which speaks to the Federal responsibility to Indian education. The continuing recognition of the federal government's responsibility to Indian education is essential to protect future generations of tribal people. The language should implicitly cite the treaty relationship between the U.S. and the tribes. Most of the treaties had provisions which specifically called for the federal government to "meet the educational needs of American Indians." A simple declarative statement emphasizing the intent and maintenance of the federal trust responsibility must become a standard preamble to any federal legislation concerning Indian people.

New legislation or amendments to existing legislation on Indian education must carry with it provisions to fund the various laws enacted at an adequate level. One of the primary problems with Indian education has been the extension of the promise of exciting, innovative programs by Authorizing Committees of the U.S. Congress and then rather stringent funding of these programs are forwarded by the Appropriations committees. This paradox involving the intent of legislation and the implementation through funding have caused great despair among Indian people throughout the United States. Perhaps a closer relationship should exist between the Authorizing and Appropriation Committees in consultation with tribes to come up with "adequate levels" of funding for new and amended programs.

Over the past 200 years, the various educational efforts applied to American Indians have been aimed at making us like a counterpart of the larger American Society. Little or no consideration has been given to the cultures of the indigenous people of this land. Although there has been a recognition of the "unique" status of the American Indian by the Federal Government, this unique status had not recognized the necessity to preserve the cultures of the tribes. New legislation developed in the 1980's could address this issue. Granted, the arguments that cultural retention is best promulgated by the tribes is well taken; however, many tribes are still groping for the basic essentials of life (food, clothing, health, housing, etc.) and do not have the resources to invest in cultural retention efforts. The traditional methods of transmitting the culture from elder to younger have been obstructed by programs which separate and diffuse this system. Efforts (funds) must be directed to be construed again as the opportunity for this experience for the welfare of the tribes.

BASICS

Indian Education in America for many years has concentrated on allowing the American Indian to "catch up" with the basic education provided to the rest of America. Federal program after Federal program has been aimed at compensatory education for American Indians, but the problem of this emphasis is that the basic educational programs for all Americans has been found to be lacking. "Why can't Johnny read?" is the question parents throughout America are asking. Why are the various college qualifying/predicting test scores falling? Indian education is caught in the dilemma of aspiring to a basic education that is lacking, and what are the alternatives open to us? I suggest that, in order for Indian people to be able to achieve both in an Indian and non-Indian world, the "basics" provided for them must be suited to meet their goals and objectives as identified by them. These basics may include the capabilities to implement permanent programs which promote tribal self-sufficiency. Additionally, the minimal "basics" standard for Indian education could and should be normed at the median and not the minimum of standards for the average American school system to assure as much as possible a quality education.

NEW DIRECTIONS

As mentioned previously, education for American Indians has focused on compensatory education, attempting to bring the whole of Indian education to a par level with the larger American society. I suggest that this effort continue in addition to expanding to include new areas such as: gifted and talented; computer education; handicapped education; diversity in vocational programs; adult education; and directed research/dissemination.

GIFTED AND TALENTED

If one considers that under the auspices of the Office of Indian Education Programs, there are 365,000 eligible participants, if only one percent (1%) were determined to be gifted and talented, this would be a total of 3,650 students. I contend that these student's needs are not currently being met by the "traditional" school systems. Of course, this condition exists for the larger society which has appropriated a paltry \$1000 in Federal money in fiscal year 1980 for gifted and talented programs for the United States in total. I believe that an emphasis on the American Indian gifted and talented could provide a needed boost to fill the leadership requirements for tribes pursuing the ideal of self-determination. Federal monies could provide the impetus for tribes to develop criteria for identification of Indian gifted and talented; to develop culturally relevant academic programs for those Indian students identified; to implement and expand programs for Indian gifted and talented. Programs for American Indian gifted and talented are not only needed but are necessary for the survival of the American Indian in the future.

COMPUTER EDUCATION

The use of computers has become common place in American society of the past several years. The uses and diversity of computers is un-

limited and when this concept is applied to tribal affairs as Indian education, this tool can be most beneficial. The storing and ability to quickly retrieve data on fiscal, physical, human and natural resources could allow a tribe to be effective in managing or administering its affairs. Federal monies could supply the impetus for developing programs to achieve this end.

HANDICAPPED EDUCATION

Serious gaps exist in educational services for Indian youth. This situation is even more critical when applied to handicapped Indian youth. Factors which contribute to this condition include:

Responsibility for educating Indian students is rarely adequately defined between the state education agency (SEA) and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). As a consequence, too often Indian students "slip through the crack" and receive no formal education;

Prevocational and vocational assessment and training programs designed specifically for handicapped Indian youth are non-existent in many states and are rarely successful where such programs do exist;

There is a desperate need to identify vocational training programs for Indian youth, including handicapped Indian youth, in which the uniqueness of Indian cultures and value systems are considered;

Preservice and inservice training for personnel responsible for the education of Indian youth rarely adequately prepare non-Indian teachers to meet the varied challenges which often confront them.

RESERVATION VERSUS NON-RESERVATION SYSTEMS

Over the past 75 years, there has been a concerted effort by the U.S. Government to move Indian people into the "mainstream" of American life. This effort has resulted in "pockets" of Indian communities in urban and rural settings. This places a hardship on those Indian communities in trying to participate in educational programs aimed at Indian people, regardless of where they reside. However, the laws, rules and regulations and policy guidelines are aimed mainly to meet the needs of reservation based Indians. This leaves the urban and rural Indian communities in a difficult situation to attempt to adapt their proposals to fit guidelines that are not a part of their living environment.

I recommend that any new legislation take into consideration the unique status of Indians in urban and rural settings, such as, Oklahoma, California, Alaska and other similar states. The Congress must keep in mind that what is applicable to reservation settings does not apply to all Indians. Who is to say which has the greater educational needs, the reservation Indian or the non-reservation Indian?

RESEARCH IN INDIAN EDUCATION

For years, Indian people have been studied or researched by the academic community: anthropologists, sociologists, economists, educators, etc. For all this studying of us, little has been productive or meaningful in terms of improving the educational, socioeconomic status of American

Indians. The areas of curriculum development, teacher-administrator training, the process developed for parental participation in formal and non-formal educational settings, and in applied evaluation techniques. There is a need to identify Indian individuals, training models, funding and to develop cultural sensitive training slides to prepare Indian researchers. Additional system must be established to disseminate and diffuse these and other applicable results of the research conducted by Indian researchers. Again, authorization of funds is necessary to conduct and implement this recommendation.

CONCLUSION

The needs of Indian Education are many and complex. Areas such as higher education; accreditation of Indian Studies Programs is a must; the establishment of an Indian oriented University which could be the "culturally sensitive site" for education of Indian scholars. In the area of Bilingual-Bi-Cultural Education efforts must be made to maintain the language and culture of tribal people and when necessary develop processes to teach the language and teach in the language.

As a practical matter, any federally funded Indian education programs need to move toward service programs more than on pilot projects. Additionally, these programs for a more consistent operation need to have guaranteed funding for at least those years with extensive periodic evaluations for continued funding.

There is a need to better coordinate tribal-local-state and federal funds or emphasis for funding to meet the needs of tribal people. With the shrinking value of the dollar and continued inflation, a more coordinated effort must be made by the various funding agencies to enable the tribes to make the most of their education dollars.

Above all, any future legislation must reiterate the Federal trust responsibility of the United States Government to the Indian people of this country. The educational efforts must be directed to eventually ensure Indian self-determination and extend/maintain the concept of tribal sovereignty.

Vine Deloria, Jr.

The 80s - Return to Traditions

Indian education has traditionally been a pawn of outside influences. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, policy-makers, determined to bring recently subdued tribes into the main stream of American life, advocated various educational theories almost all of which originated in the philosophical worldview of British empirical and political philosophy. Theories of learning were yet to be developed and cultural values of the larger society were conceived to be ingrained in the natural order and largely responsible for the material success of American society. Allotment of tribal lands, an experiment with private property as a learning device, was the chief educational tool for Indian adults, the off reservation boarding school where children were rudely isolated from their communities and traditional culture were thought to be the answer to educational problems of younger Indians.

By the turn of the century former Indian Commissioner, Francis Leupp, wrote in his book, The Indian and His Problem, that the solution to Indian problems was merely a matter of proper and sustained administration. By the time of the New Deal this belief had been rudely shaken and New Deal educational policies reverted to community participation and decision-making in an effort to restore to Indian communities a measure of responsibility for educational experiences. Day schools on the major reservations and a realistic integration of smaller reservation school districts with state and local systems brought a sense of reality to Indian education. The effort of the federal government to escape from its educational

responsibilities by subsidizing state educational organizations, as seen in the Johnson- O'Malley Act in 1934, blunted a progressive element within the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the experiment with local control withered and faded as the Second World War came.

The post-war years had two basic characteristics which had a complementary role with respect to each other and acted in a joint function to move Indian education backwards to the ideologies of the last century. Increasing government educational activities as exemplified in P.L. 815 and P.L. 874 made Indians a pawn in the larger game of empire-building within state and local educational systems. Indians were important to local education if only because their presence guaranteed a certain amount of federal funds for a school district and virtually no monitoring, eliminating political problems for local school administrators. Within the private educational arena, school consolidation became the overwhelming passion and the ratio of teachers to administrators in almost every school district in the nation moved rapidly into a condition in which it became more important to keep records and construct facilities than to teach children.

The efforts of the federal government in the 1960s and 1970s were a badly conceived effort to return to ancient theories of education complicated by the developments of the 1940s and 1950s in school consolidation and the victory of administration over education. The vaunted "War on Poverty" featured many educational programs because policy-makers rejected out of hand the ideas of guaranteed wage work for unemployed members of minority groups. In place of public employment such programs as "Head Start", "Follow

Through," "Neighborhood Youth Corps," "A Better Chance" and the Vista Volunteers had the cumulative effect of creating a compensatory educational system operating side by side with the regular school system, run for the most part by concerned citizens who were badly trained and continually harrassed by requirements for fiscal and program orthodoxy.

Following the Kennedy Report on Indian education, in which emotions overcame sensible planning and the committee expressed a surprising sense of outrage and naivete with respect to conditions then existing on Indian reservations, the contemporary movement to restore Indian education to local communities gained strength. Recent educational laws have emphasized local control while maintaining a preference for educational theories based upon the movement of education from teaching to administration. The vast majority of funds now available for Indian education go to upgrading administrative procedures and ensuring efficiency of school systems thus returning the subject of Indian education to the days of ex-Commissioner Francis Leupp. Indian education today might be said to be more behavior modification and less substance of teaching and content education than at any time in Indian-white contact.

Looking ahead at the next decade, it is imperative that the Congressional policy-makers take cognizance of the periodic cycles of ideas that recur in the field of Indian education. The slogans appear in a regular cycle from local control to consolidation to innovative non-Indian cultural values to local control with a deadly mechanical beat. The cycle looks differently because the

language of technical educational theory changes in each generation. Insofar as basic ideas change, very little is accomplished in each period of Indian education. The rate of change within the cycle is the only element in Indian education that does change so that as we have moved from the 1950s to the 1970s the period of experimentation and sloganeering is increasingly reduced. The present confusion in Indian education and the absolute bewilderment of local educational committees, regardless of what legislation these groups are organized under, now occurs because we have reached a point of simultaneity in the cycle and all ideas and concepts appear at once.

Recent efforts to survey parents, evaluate school programs, and increase the efficiency of educational delivery systems have produced very little in the way of concrete suggestions. We have now reached the condition of having no answers because we have no development time between elements of the educational cycle. When this confused intellectual condition is intensified by the annual requirements that educational programs be refunded on a yearly basis and the increasingly complex questions of eligibility of different programs and educational institutions, we reach the present state of impasse where local, state, regional, and national educational meetings produce a group of stunned educators asking about minor adjustments in the "regs" without any further thought about the education they are supposed to provide. The medium of funding has become the message of Indian education. Too many people today simply go through the motions of education hoping that

their behavior will conform to federal administrators expectations.

Given this state of affairs, policy-makers in approaching the subject may well want to move backwards to the beginning of the cycle and contemplate again the substance of Indian education. In doing, so they must first realize that education, if it is to be relevant to American Indians, must return in both content and substance to Indian traditions. That is to say, not only must the local educational institution be controlled and directed by the local community, the content of what is taught must be determined by the local community. The content of education is generally a function of the type of teaching techniques used and so when we talk of returning education to the local community we are really talking about the discarding of modern administrative procedures and teaching-learning theories in favor of more spontaneous and community-related activities.

In practical terms this type of education would reduce the administrative role to an absolute minimum in favor of a greatly expanded teaching staff dealing with an increasing smaller class of students on increasingly specific subjects of instruction. The traditional Indian teaching format approaches the tutorial in its specificity enabling both student and teacher to share a particular learning-teaching activity and dealing specifically with the knowledge and experiences of the world in which the teacher has lived and in which the student expects to live. The content of this kind of education emphasizes how to live in the world and what it means to be a human personality within a social-political context.

One of the major reasons why non-Indian educational techniques and institutions have been unsuccessful with American Indians is because the non-Indian educational theories preclude this type of relationship except at the graduate student level. American education, as it moved from predominantly private institutions to mass education of public institutions, was highly influenced by the thought of Horace Mann of Massachusetts. Visiting Prussia and seeing the instant obedience of the Royal Guards, Mann adapted his theories of education to produce the same results as the German Army. Thus we have classrooms with rows of uncomfortable chairs and desks and education as a routine memorization of facts presented as absolute truths by teacher occupying a disciplinary role in relation to the students. Traditional Indians regard this format and exercise as the greatest insanity and developments in the post-war decades in learning theories skirt the admission of this insanity while approaching in practice its procedures and format.

Reduction of the administrative function of school systems in favor of the teaching component is a relatively simple task that requires only the formalization of teacher-aides and other para-professional personnel as an integral part of the school system and a downgrading of the mania for keeping records, counseling, and administering intelligence and personality tests - all functions which are presently badly handled in Indian and non-Indian schools alike. Obviously this movement also means a phase-out of certain kinds of consolidated schools and an emphasis on increasingly smaller schools at the local level. Present gigantic buildings may continue

to perform some useful community function but they should no longer be viewed as educational centers.

A significantly paced reduction in consolidated schools in favor of much smaller local schools would almost immediately solve the problem of parent involvement. It would reduce the need for institutional disciplinary activity since parents and community would once again be able to exercise this function. Reduction would allow community-introduced variations in schools to adapt the process of education to the uniqueness of the local people. The need to produce a uniform school calendar and a uniform educational profile would disappear in favor of local schools meeting the specific needs of the community. Today the decline of test scores and the rise in drop out rates is directly related to the onset of adolescence and the awareness of the complexity of personality. Most of the tribes recognized this particular life crisis and provided for it through ceremonials. These ceremonials should be made a regular part of the educational experience even if it means that children of this age will not formally attend school for a year while they are instructed in traditional customs and beliefs and made an adult part of the community. But the life crisis will be resolved in an Indian manner that will assist in resolving many of the pressing problems suffered today by reservation communities.

Educational experts may well decry these recommendations. It must be remembered as they voice their concern, that they are the group who primarily benefits from making education and increasingly administrative function. Another set of problems is currently con-

fronting us which makes these recommendations appear sensible and rational by comparison. Fuel costs are escalating and it will soon be financially impossible to continue to support large consolidated schools in rural areas, whether they are on Indian reservations, in the south and west among non-Indians, or even in the mid-continent regions of relative affluence. Heating costs and bus route expenses will force a movement back towards smaller schools which are located in the local community and subject to the control of that group.

Reduction of large consolidated schools will reveal the large waste in present administrative practices which few contemporary educators are willing to admit. The various administrative levels which today characterize educational institutions will not be needed in smaller schools because decision-making will be placed closer to the classroom, again revealing that much of the money now invested in school systems is wasted in record keeping and reports. Once the need for large-scale planning, complicated budget requests, district-wide projects and unnecessary compensatory programs that are designed to motivate students through sleight-of-hand learning techniques are eliminated, the actual content of education will show a dramatic improvement because the relationship between the student and teacher will no longer be cluttered with bureaucratic distractions and requirements.

Given the present rate of inflation, all other costs of education will continue to rise at alarming rates making the larger institutions obsolete. We already see profound breakdown in some areas of American life and the future seems to hold no significant options

which would enable us to continue to give financial support for the kind of institutions we have today on any scale or in any area of life. To continue to examine the subject of Indian education apart from the contemporary political and economic milieu would only perpetuate the compounded mistakes of the past. Any break with the past of significance involves more than the traditional answer provided by Congress: more money and greater efficiency in delivery. These options no longer exist so the great experiment with cultural transformation of the American Indian which has dominated Indian education for over a century must also come to an end. Rather than stubbornly continue present paths, rationality and a concern for both children and communities dictates that we reduce the problem to its basic components: Indian education must be taken away from outside experts and returned to the smallest communal unit existent which is basically the point of departure from which this mess was created over a century ago.

PREPARED COMMENTS
ON
THE NEEDS OF
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION
POLICY ISSUES PAPER ON MIGRANT EDUCATION

SUBMITTED BY
THE MIGRANT EDUCATION PROJECT
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA
RAUL YZAGUIRRE, PRESIDENT

TO
THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
OF
THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

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PREPARED BY:

Michael Cortés, Vice President
Cosme J. Barceló, Jr., Project Director
Janet Schroyer, Research Assistant

1725 "Eye" Street, N.W. • Suite 210 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • (202) 293-4680



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The National Council of La Raza would like to take this opportunity to thank Chairman Perkins and the members of the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education for inviting us to submit a policy paper concerning the needs of elementary and secondary education for the 1980's. The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) is extremely interested in the education of those of limited English proficiency whose native language is Spanish. In this policy paper, however, we would like to focus on the educational concerns of children of migrant agricultural workers throughout the United States.

The children of migrant agricultural workers present particularly poignant concerns to those involved with their education. They face what appear to be unsurmountable barriers as they attempt to attain an even rudimentary education. Migrant children must overcome the obstacles of poverty, mobility, economic insecurity, and oftentimes, linguistic disparity. Such obstacles are manifested through such results as those presented by the Exotech Systems, Inc. in their publication, Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title I Programs for Migrant Children of Migrant Agricultural Workers, (1974):

- migrant students have only a 40 percent chance of entering the 9th grade, as compared to the non-migrant student who has a 96 percent chance of entering the 9th grade;
- migrant students have only an 11 percent chance of entering the 12th grade, while non-migrant students have an 80 percent chance of entering the 12th grade;
- the average migrant student is from six to eight months behind the expected grade level for his or her age group;
- approximately three years are required for the average migrant student in California and Texas to move from one grade level to the next in the third and fourth grades.

The National Council of La Raza and other advocates for migrant education are vividly aware of the immense number of problems facing the children of migrant workers. While not all groups agree on the precise focus of migrant education, most concur that there is a definite need for some degree of reform within the present migrant education programs. Some issues which many advocate groups are concerned with, and which the National Council of La Raza view as important, include:

1. The trend towards expanding the definition of the term "agricultural activity" for the purpose of including additional mobile populations other than those for whom these programs were originally intended;
2. the involvement of migrant parents in their children's education;
3. bilingual/bicultural education as it affects migrant children;
4. the identification and school enrollment of migrant children;
5. the coordination of migrant programs within the newly formed Department of Education;
6. migrant head start programs;
7. the role of the Community Services Administration in the coordination of government agencies involved with migrant education;
8. the impact of Competency-Based Testing on migrant children;
9. the educational rights of children of undocumented migrant workers;
10. the role of community-based organizations as coordinators for migrant education programs.

Defining and Expanding the Eligible Population

The definition of "migrant worker" is set forth by the Office of Education in its Federal Regulations. Under this definition both the children

of migrant agricultural workers and migrant fishermen are covered if they have, "... in the past twelve months, moved from one school district to another in order to enable the person to obtain temporary or seasonal employment in an agricultural or fishing activity." (Federal Register, Volume 42, No. 134, July 13, 1977). There is also included in this definition a provision for formerly migrant children who have settled out of the migrant stream within the last five years. Such a definition is quite broad in its scope and application.

Of concern to the National Council of La Raza and other organizations involved with migrant education is the trend towards expanding the definition of "migrant" students who are eligible to receive Title I migrant funds. Congress specifically mandated in P.L. 95-561 that grants under this program were to be used for the education of children of migratory agricultural workers and fishermen. However, the Office of Education has been moving towards the inclusion of children of other mobile populations in the program through its definition of "agricultural activities". Currently included in the broad heading are such populations as those involved with the production and processing of milk, poultry, and livestock; those involved with the operation of forest nurseries and fish farms; and those involved in the curing, canning, and freezing of crops. We feel that this continuing move towards expanding the definition of migrant worker could be extremely detrimental to the concentration on the unique educational needs of children of migrant agricultural farm workers. Our concern is that such an expansion of definition, to include more easily identifiable and serviceable mobile children, will lead to the usurpation of monies designated for migrant students who may be more mobile, less easily identified, and more difficult to recruit into the program.

We feel that Congress' intent, in allocating funds through Title I to educate migrant children, was to address the special needs of farmworker children, and not those faced by other mobile youth. We therefore have strong reservations with respect to administrative moves which allow such expansions of definitions, as they appear to directly contradict the original intent of Congress.

Parental Involvement

Many migrant education programs have been unsuccessful because they have failed to realistically assess the needs of migrant children. The programs have not been tailored to alleviate the difficulties faced by families who are forced to travel extensively and change schools often. Much more could be done to recruit knowledgeable individuals, ones familiar with the plight of migrant children, to assist in the development of worthwhile programs. Perhaps the most knowledgeable population of all, migrant parents, have had little input into the planning of migrant education programs. It is migrant parents who can truly understand the unique needs of their children; who can meaningfully assess the success of existing programs; and who can logistically suggest ideas for new program directions.

It is the National Council of La Raza's contention that parental involvement at the national, state and local levels is vital to the successful implementation and monitoring of migrant education programs. The National Council of La Raza feels that if parents are aware of the mandates of such programs as Title I Migrant Education Program, as well as their rights and the rights of their children under the program, then they will be able to ensure some degree of influence in their children's education.

Congress realized the importance of parental participation in the decision-making process of the school districts. This was proven by their inclusion of a mandate in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which makes Parent Advisory Councils a required element of the Regular Title I program. Congress' intent was quite clear regarding the establishment of Parent Advisory Councils for Title I programs. Included in Section 125(a) of the law are requirements for elections of the Council members and officers, the make-up of the Councils, and the meetings of the Councils.

Unfortunately, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is not perfectly clear in its mandates for Migrant Parent Advisory Councils. Instead, the law states in Section 142(a) that:

... in planning and carrying out programs and projects at both the State and local educational agency level, there has been and will be appropriate consultation with parent advisory councils established in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner [consistent with the requirements of 125(a)].

While the language of this Section clearly requires the formation of migrant Parent Advisory Councils, there is need for a more explicit mandate. The current mandate has resulted in inadequate and oftentimes window dressing parental involvement in many migrant education programs. It appears that unless parental involvement in Title I Migrant Education Programs is more specifically defined by Congress, the progress will be slow in involving the most knowledgeable faction of the community, migrant parents themselves, in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of programs pertaining to their children.

Bilingual/Bicultural Education

A number of children of migrant workers face additional hardships besides those contingent on their migrancy. Many of these children who come from home environments in which Spanish is the predominate language. A more than significant number of these children cannot speak English and are thus faced with the tremendous task of attempting to learn in an English-speaking society which continues to resist the recognition of linguistic and cultural differences within its citizenery. Bilingual education programs help to meet the special educational needs of migrant children of limited English speaking proficiency thereby alleviating inequalities in their education.

Funds under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act may be used for bilingual education programs thereby allowing local school districts to establish and maintain such special programs.

The major goals of bilingual education are to help children learn English and at the same time develop a good foundation in the basic subjects. Unfortunately, many local education agencies are unable to meet these goals despite good faith efforts to do so. There are several possible explanations for this situation in migrant education programs.

For example, one of the problems is that most migrant education teachers are not proficient in the language of the migrant child. The child thus becomes trapped in an educational setting where he or she is unable to understand the teacher's language. In addition, many teachers hired to teach in bilingual classrooms have little training or knowledge of the language or culture of the child. Teachers' aids are sometimes hired to assist the teacher in overcoming the linguistic barriers. However, teachers' aides are not quali-

fied teachers, and while they provide a necessary bridge between the children and the teacher, they cannot, and should not, be expected to fulfill the teacher's duties nor the schools responsibility.

The importance of a teacher who is able to understand and communicate with his or her students in their native language cannot be denied. Children must be allowed to learn in their own language, rather than delaying their cognitive development until they learn a new language. Bilingual education allows children to use the language they understand best to explore, interpret, and construct meanings, and therefore allows them to better remember and organize complex concepts. It is, therefore, obvious that there is a vital need for more trained bilingual education teachers in the Title I Migrant Education Programs who are able to work directly with the children, rather than depending on aides to act as translators.

Still another problem in attempting to meet the special educational needs of migrant children of limited English speaking proficiency is the lack of a national plan or strategy to meet these needs. State and local education agencies, therefore, are left on their own to develop plans and programs without meaningful guidance and/or assistance from the federal agencies funding migrant education programs. This situation has resulted in:

- the lack of a uniformed approach to meeting the special educational needs of migrant children of limited English speaking proficiency,
- a shortage of trained and experienced bilingual teachers and administrators within the migrant education programs,
- the inability of many local educational agencies to develop a comprehensive approach to meet the special educational needs of children of limited English speaking proficiency, and,
- a lack of adequate knowledge development activities in this area at the national level.

In summary, because migrant education programs are national in scope, the newly established Department of Education must exert a stronger leadership role in the development of national goals and strategies in order to ensure the special educational needs of migrant children with limited English language proficiency are met.

Identification and School Enrollment

In organizing the Title I migrant education program, Congress included as part of the allocation of funds a motivating factor for Local Education Agencies (LEA) to identify migrant students eligible to participate in the program. This was done by making the amount of the grant allocated to a particular LEA contingent upon the number of migrant students it enrolls in the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS). Unfortunately, this method of identification and enrollment has not been totally successful. In 1978 the President's Commission on Mental Health estimated that there were 800,000 migrant children in the United States. Of those, only 569,000 were served by Title I migrant education funds. It is clear that there is a need for a more extensive system of identifying migrant children and enrolling them in school.

While we support the concept of fund allocations based on the number of students identified, we are aware of some drawbacks with such a system. One problem evolving from this arrangement is that even though a child is identified and enrolled in the MSRTS, thus generating Title I migrant funds for the Local Education Agency, he or she may never receive the educational services guaranteed as a result of his or her enrollment in the program. It is with such issues in mind that we support the concept of initiating some

type of benefit to those Local Education Agencies which serve a high percentage of those students which they have identified and enrolled in the MSRTS. Such an inducement might result in more migrant students gaining a more comprehensive and worthwhile education through the utilization of monies which were designed for that purpose.

Department of Education

Public Law 96-88, establishing a new and separate Department of Education was signed into law by President Carter on October 17, 1979. The Department of Education Organization Act of 1979 (DEOA) will reorganize the administration of education programs in the United States. Embodied within this reorganization is a provision for the development of a "single component responsible for the administration and coordination of programs relating to the education of migrants" (Section 303(a) of DEOA. Such a component will be responsible for the administration of all elementary, secondary, and postsecondary programs involving migrants. Those programs currently located in the Department of Labor will be transferred to the Department of Education following the establishment of the single migrant education office.

We strongly encouraged by Congress' insight into the need for an organized and cohesive administrative structure responsible for coordinating migrant education programs within the new Department. Advocates have long felt that educational programs were of prime importance to migrant workers and we therefore recommend the establishment of an Office of Migrant Education Services that reports directly to the Secretary of Education. It is hoped that the establishment of the new Office of Migrant Education Services will lead to the development of a unified approach to migrant education through coordination of migrant, as well as other related programs within the Department of Education. In the

future, the focus will be on the actual implementation of the Department's coordinating efforts, as well as the expansion of such efforts. It is our contention that an Office of Migrant Education Services is an important initial step towards the establishment of an extensive, intercoordinated organization of all programs involving migrant farmworkers.

It is hoped that this new Office of Migrant Education Services will play an important role in helping state, elementary, and secondary education programs to meet their own stated goals and objectives in delivering educational and other services to children of migrant workers and their families.

Head Start Programs

Preschool and Head Start programs are of particular importance to the children of migrant workers. Such programs provide younger children with the background necessary to enter grade school with a somewhat equitable chance of succeeding. They provide a base from whence all other educational programs can build. These programs also allow older children, who oftentimes must drop out of school to care for younger siblings, the opportunity to continue on in school by making such child care unnecessary. Therefore, all ages of children benefit from preschool and Head Start programs and it is seemingly obvious that these programs are of vital importance to the education of migrant children.

Unfortunately, migrant preschool and Head Start programs have suffered from a critical lack of funding. Title I migrant monies provide preschool programs to more children than any other funding source, but there is no separate funding base for the preschool programs. Funds for the preschool programs must be "siphoned off" from regular Title I migrant monies. It is

only after school-aged children have been provided with effective programs, that their preschool-aged siblings warrant funds.

Migrant Head Start is the only preschool migrant program which receives funds specially designated for the particular purpose. Unfortunately, these funds are not sufficient to provide Head Start programs to all preschool migrant children needing such services. Therefore, relatively few migrant children benefit from this program due to the limited funding sources as well as to the diverse implementation methods utilized by various projects. Some programs accept migrant children, but are unwilling to provide special services needed by migrant children such as extended hours, bilingual/bicultural staff members, and infant care.

These two programs, Title I preschool and Migrant Head Start, are also in competition with one another to attract eligible children to their particular program. Instead of providing complimentary and coordinated services, they have been competing for the control of the child's education. NCLR views such unnecessary jockeying as detrimental to the children as well as to the services the programs are able to provide. We, therefore, urge the initiation of more coordination and unification of services between these two programs.

Community Services Administration

There are currently nine federal programs being administered by three government agencies to provide education, health, manpower, day care, nutrition and related social services to migrant children. Thus far, there has been little coordination of services by Federal, state, and local programs. The results have been a duplication of efforts, overlapping of services, and competition between programs.

In effort to better coordinate these services Congress provided the Community Services Administration (CSA) with the authority to coordinate, review, and monitor Federal migrant programs. (P.L. 93-544). To date, however, CSA has failed to exhibit the leadership and authority necessary to effectively carry out this mandate. It is our hope that such coordination of efforts will be successfully instituted in order to ensure that all migrant children are provided with the most worthwhile and complimentary program available.

Competency-Based Testing

In an effort to raise academic achievement levels for students graduating from high school, 31 states have adopted some form of competency-based testing. Results indicate that a greater proportion of minority than white students fail these tests. This has also resulted in many racial and language minority migrant students being denied a high school diploma on the basis of a single test.

If the statistics of such failures are viewed as reflecting on the competency of the schools, rather than on individual students, then the test results clearly indicate a need for major improvements in our educational systems. On the other hand, the validity of such tests has not been adequately established and they may very well include significant language and cultural biases which cause migrants and other minority students to test poorly. In either case, migrant students are subjected to unfair and unequal educational rights which permit biased testing measures to determine their educational status and future opportunities.

Children of Undocumented Workers

There is no accurate estimation of the number of undocumented workers living in the United States; estimates range from less than one million to more than twelve million. Many of these undocumented workers are migrant farm laborers and some have school-aged children who travel with them. Some of these children of undocumented migrant workers are enrolled in public schools throughout the country and face the same problems as those confronting the children of domestic migrant workers.

Various efforts have been made to deny these children an education in public schools in the United States, but the courts in some states have supported the rights of the children of undocumented workers to attend public schools. In Texas, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District declared in J. and R. Doe, et al. v. James Tyler, et al. that these children had the right to an education in public schools.

The National Council of La Raza supports such rights for these children, for it is our contention that all children in this country, regardless of their parents citizenship status, deserve and have Constitutional rights to be educated. We are aware of the fact that undocumented workers pay taxes and are a source of economical prosperity for their employers, however, they themselves attain few privileges or seek social benefits. We, therefore, feel that the children of such workers are victims of circumstance and should not be denied educational opportunities in this country.

Community-Based Organizations

While community-based organizations can theoretically serve as subgrantees to Local Education Agencies (LEA) and State Education Agencies (SEA) for the operation of Title I migrant education programs, they very seldom play this

role. The Commissioner of Education also has the statutory authority to by-pass an SEA and fund another public or non-profit agency to provide Title I migrant education programs in a state. Such by-passing can result if: a) a state is unwilling or unable to conduct educational programs for migrant children, b) such action would result in more efficient and economical program administration, or c) such action would contribute substantially to the welfare and educational attainment of migrant children.

The possibilities of invoking the "by-pass" provision have been raised in some states e.g., New Jersey, and there are instances in which SEA's have chosen to contract with non-profit organizations instead of LEA's for Title I migrant services e.g., the Texas Migrant Council. However, the by-pass provision has not been used as an alternative tool for assuring that migrant children in each state receive adequate educational services through Title I migrant funds. NCLR feels that there is a definite need for further exploration into the advantages of utilizing community-based organizations in order to ensure that migrant children are offered the most effective educational administration available.

CONCLUSION

The National Council of La Raza would once again like to thank Chairman Perkins and the members of the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education for presenting us with the opportunity to relate our issue priorities in regards to migrant education. We are aware of the limited depth of some very complex issues outlined in our paper, but have attempted to impart what we feel are the basic policy issues evolving in each area.

There is no doubt that further dialogue and analysis is needed on these topics. If additional information is needed, the National Council of La Raza is always available to the Subcommittee, and other interested organizations and individuals, to discuss these or other policy issues related to the education of migrant children.

Killian Jordan, National Child Labor Committee, New York, New York
MEETING THE CHALLENGE--SERVING MIGRANT CHILDREN

For the many advocacy agencies and individuals committed to the use of the public schools as the major means for educating children, problems with delivery of services usually lead to one critical question: "Who's in charge here?" The answer, at all levels of educational institutions, has often been, "Not us." To the horror of advocates, this response often appears to be accurate. Whatever the question, the local, state and federal bureaucracies frequently (with some grain of truth) disclaim final responsibility.

For a variety of reasons there is simply not a clear hierarchy of rank, authority, or responsibility among educational jurisdictions, but neither is there a genuine partnership of levels.

One group of children has been more systematically short-changed by this chain of noncommand than any other: the children of migrant farmworkers. The fact that they were the most educationally deprived children in the nation prompted Congress, in 1966, to amend Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Act to mandate programs and projects directed specifically at meeting the special educational needs of these children.

It is 1980 now, and educational achievement is still tragically low among migrant children. How can this be changed? One way, most parents and advocates are convinced, is through increased parent involvement. Extensive research has shown that children's educational achievements rise when their parents participate, apparently regardless of their parent's academic background or lifestyles. Meaningful parent involvement is a need that is recognized by children, by parents, by advocates, by educators and by Congress. Yet real parent involvement in migrant education programs is still almost nonexistent. Why?

The answer lies partly with migrancy itself: employment for migrant farm-workers is, by definition, seasonal and temporary in nature. A family with a home base in Texas may be in Michigan or Wisconsin for the last six weeks of school. Or a family based in Florida may be in New York or North Carolina for the first two months of the school year.

The migrant child frequently faces an enormous disparity between the school setting and the home setting, and between school language and home language. Twice a day the child must move from one culture to a significantly different one. This transition can be a difficult one: school values may not reflect home values, the orderly processes of the school may not resemble those of the home, ideals of appearance, dress, punctuality, self-control and language may not resemble the ideals presented in the home.

Migrant families are politically isolated, without moorings in a society that enfranchises its citizens through their place of residence, and in a society that often looks at migrancy with cultural disdain. Most migrants are truly stateless and cannot receive or exercise the political rights that other Americans take for granted.

Additionally, most migrant adults have had only four to six years of total schooling and many do not speak English. They are likely to be unfamiliar and uncomfortable with the school and with school administrators and teachers, their own school experiences having been hostile and unrewarding. Many believe that they will be treated with contempt by the school, that they will not be able to communicate with school personnel, or that any questions they ask or demands they make will result in reprisals against their children.

But these factors do not constitute excuses for not involving parents; rather, they should be an incentive for officials to redouble efforts to facilitate parental involvement. It is, in fact, a serious challenge to government officials at all levels.

Unfortunately, the challenge is not now being met. And at the base hierarchical level, migrant children still often face outright discrimination within the school. A recent case of a teacher spraying a migrant child with perfume because "they all smell so bad," is not an unusual episode. And the principal who recently appointed student "monitors" to report -- for punishment -- children who speak Spanish among themselves is, sadly, not alone among administrators.

The school receiving Migrant Education funds may segregate migrant children in the most dilapidated and inhospitable facilities for the primary curricular purpose of denigrating the children's looks, language, families and culture, while papering migrant classroom walls with magazine illustrations of blonde, smartly-suited, briefcase-carrying models.

Community misconceptions abound, and are reflected in the lack of welcome extended to migrants working in the area. Service providers are pleased to ignore the needs of their migrant constituency or impose insurmountable obstacles, if necessary, to discourage those seeking help.

Despite all the listed impediments to migrant parent participation, such participation is a reality in some areas. Where parents are active, there has been a positive partnership of people who place first priority on serving children well. It can be done, and done well, yet many schools simply refuse. Seeking enforcement where there is no accountability is the frustrating task of parents and advocates.

The buzz words "local autonomy" protect the State departments of education from having to enforce the mandate for meaningful parent involvement. The explanation is often that enforcing such onerous provisions will "discourage" the school from running any project for migrant students -- and then where will "they" be? Maintaining good relationships with the local education agencies remains the primary concern of State agencies.

The federal Office of Education has the same concern vis-a-vis the States. Education is a State responsibility and forcing an issue will discourage the States from conducting any programs for the children who need them so desperately. Maintaining good relationships with the States is the only way to get services delivered.

What expert observers frequently find, therefore, are a great many good relationships and not very much meaningful parent involvement. The federal response to parent and advocate demands for increased parent involvement has always been to explain that the mobility of the parents is a "complicating factor" in the effort to involve them. And parents and advocates are compelled to continue stressing that mobility is not a factor in migrancy, it is migrancy. It is the sole definitional cause of the need for special services: these children have been unable to get quality education because they have been mobile.

In defining the problems and issues of migrancy, it becomes clear that getting involved is not just a parent responsibility. Migrant farmworkers have not been injected with instant knowledge of Subpart 1, Part B, Title I of Public Law 95-561. They must be told about the law about the programs, what their children's participation can mean, what their own participation can mean to their children, and some logistical details of how to participate.

Presenting this information is a primary local responsibility, and presenting it well will bring parents into the local project. Modest support efforts on the part of the school, presented with openness and respect, will keep parents there. The school responsibilities being filled, it then becomes a parent responsibility to stay involved.

The federal law and regulations now require that every agency operating a Title I-Migrant Education program or project consult with a Parent Advisory Council formed for that purpose, or risk loss of funds. Parents and advocates fought hard for this provision, and will continue to fight for its enforcement.

The chain of noncommand, however, will make this a phantom struggle unless the federal Department of Education takes the responsibility which is ultimately theirs of holding LEAS and SEAS accountable in the parent involvement area. Active parents and advocates refuse to accept the oft-posed notion that federal offices are neither responsible nor accountable for widespread illegalities in a program they administer.

And such a debate should not be necessary; it is a bureaucracy-born issue, not a real question of rights and entitlements. The right is clearly stated in the law, but bureaucracies are disclaiming responsibility for the law. And this struggle will drain more precious energy from parents who are already exhausted by lives of deprivation. Most tragically, this unnecessary struggle delays and denies rightful opportunities to hundreds of thousands of migrant children, creating yet another generation of adults without options.

IMPROVING ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE 1980's

John I. Goodlad

University of California, Los Angeles

and

Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc.

The central message in what follows is that schools must improve holistically, largely through local effort, becoming in the process vigorous community institutions. It is the local school that must be the locus of reconstruction. The energies of principals, teachers, students, and parents must be mobilized and supported, school by school. There are no panaceas for such a task.

The problems and difficulties involved will vary from school to school. But several are sufficiently widespread to become or affect the agendas for improvement in many schools. I have chosen four:

1. Fragmented, non-cumulative curriculum planning. This fragmentation begins at the state level and is exacerbated by federal funding policies. It becomes glaringly apparent at the level of the local school.
2. The erosion of the common school, with accompanying severe inequities in access to and acquisition of knowledge. These inequities become sharply apparent in the differences in subject matter between upper and lower tracks of high school subjects and between vocational and academic programs of study.
3. Limited, rote teaching practices in many classrooms. Too often, students are tracked into different subject matter instead of involved in alternative ways to learn subject matter.

4. Serious shortcomings in both pre-service and in-service education of teachers and administrators. Failure to provide teachers with an adequate, beginning, professional floor creates at the outset a "minor" profession which subsequently can be upgraded only with difficulty and great human and financial cost.

In addressing these problems, I refer from time to time to A Study of Schooling. This is an in-depth analysis of what goes on in a representative sample of schools. A comprehensive report on findings and interpretations will appear in 1981.¹

Curriculum Development

For a variety of reasons, the curriculum reform movement which flourished for nearly a decade following Sputnik (1957) slowed and virtually stopped in the second half of the 1960's. No segment of the educational system has moved into the vacuum caused by the disappearance or erosion of the curriculum projects once handsomely supported by several agencies of the federal government and private foundations. Curriculum building has not been, for a decade, and is not now the site of creative activity.

This neglect is compounded by the apparent weakness of the local school as a curriculum planning unit. It is the rare school faculty that engages continuously in curriculum development: assuring that the school's program provide in a balanced way for the four broad educational goals which

¹The Study has been funded at various times by 10 philanthropic foundations, the National Institute of Education and the United States Office of Education. It is administered by the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., and directed by John I. Goodlad. Some very preliminary findings are reported in the *Phi Delta Kappan*, Volume 61, Numbers 3, 4, 5, and 6 (November, 1979, through February, 1980).

have emerged in this country over a period of three hundred years;² discarding outworn topics and replacing them with new ones; selecting the best materials available; and so on.

Two areas of critical need begin to take shape. First, there need to be, outside of schools, various centers giving full-time attention to curriculum development. It probably is desirable to employ several alternative approaches simultaneously. An obvious one is to create centers in the subject fields comparable to those that flourished more than a decade ago. But it may be preferable--and probably would be less costly--to use existing institutions (e.g., universities) and combinations of institutions (e.g., universities in collaboration with consortia of schools). The education service centers (such as those in Texas and Washington), cutting across several independent school districts, have the potential for the work required and the capability to draw upon both school and university personnel.

However, even an array of dynamic curriculum centers--whether national, regional or relatively local in scope--is not sufficient to assure sound curricular options for children and youth in each school. Unfortunately, the local school is a relatively weak curricular decision-making unit.³ Nonetheless, it is in the finite dimensions of time and place represented by the individual school that all of the fragmented curriculum development proceeding elsewhere on a broken front must come together and be both symmetrical and comprehensible to those who teach and experience it.

²See John I. Goodlad, *What Schools Are For*. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1979.

³Gary A. Griffin, "Levels of Curricular Decision-Making," in John I. Goodlad and Associates, *Curriculum Inquiry: The Study of Curriculum Practice*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979.

For this sensible state of affairs to occur, there must be a school-based planning process in which all those connected with the school are in various ways involved. The teachers are the professionals in this process. On their general adequacy for this work I shall have more to say later. The principal is the responsible leader, by position if not appropriate preparation.

The essential ingredient is time. Currently, there is not enough of it. Teachers begin their work year shortly before the students do and end it a few days after the instructional term comes to a close. There is no time at the beginning or end of the school year or during it for the kind of sustained planning implied. Teachers are hard-pressed as it is to find planning time for the hours they teach each day. Most principals are employed for eleven months each year but there is little curriculum planning they can do apart from teachers.

The obvious solution is a costly one: cadres of teachers must be employed for additional days each year to assure that a viable program of instruction always will be in place. Their work must be school-specific with support from the district office. And this additional time must be devoted exclusively to the school's curriculum and not teachers' own lesson plans. The principal must be the overall coordinator of the process.

The cautioning question is whether or not principals and teachers are up to it. However, even if many are not--yet--there is no good alternative to placing responsibility for determining the curricular dimensions of the individual school squarely on those who staff it, with

appropriate participation by other responsible parties, including parents. Shifting authority and responsibility to more remote levels, such as the state capitol, is only to assure less relevant decisions and to delay the process of developing teachers and principals capable of the planning required. State authority must articulate broad goals, assure certain quality controls, and provide basic resources. It must not mandate the specific configurations of local school curricula.

Access to Basic Knowledge and Skills

One of the basic requirements of a democracy is that knowledge be humanized and democratized--that is, made understandable and available to the people. It is recognized that people differ widely in their desire and readiness for learning. But desire and readiness are themselves educable traits. Further, lack of desire or readiness today are not fully predictive of later lack. Consequently, we set out in this country to create an educational system equally available to all--at least, that has been the rhetoric.

We know that this principle of equity has been less than adequately fulfilled in the past. With most children and youth up to the ages of 17 or 18 enrolled today in schools, we are too prone to assume that access to basic knowledge and schools is almost universal. There is ample evidence to the contrary. The common practice of tracking students into separate sections of presumably similar subject matter often is defended as a way of recognizing differences in rates of learning. But in the 13 secondary schools examined in the Study of Schooling, the practice appears to result, frequently, in differentiating not only learning rates but what students study. The range in

content between some tracks in, for example, the social studies is so great that students appear to be in different subjects. Students in lower tracks are unlikely to be exposed later to what students of approximately the same grade are being exposed to now.

We know that persons exposed in common to similar learning situations have very different learning experiences. The richer the situation, the more varied and richer the meanings derived are likely to be. But do we really want large numbers of students to be segregated into situations that differ markedly in the very content from which meanings are to be derived? Families provide enormous diversity in the knowledge, skills and values derived by the young. Is there not something to be said, then, for a school that seeks to do something in common with this diversity?

Another, perhaps more invidious separation, is between academic and vocational concentrations. Many academically-oriented students elect to take some vocational courses but not to the degree that these jeopardize college preparatory programs. But it is clear that many students are so heavily into vocational subjects that transferring after the sophomore year into a predominantly academic program would be exceedingly difficult.

It often is argued that these "non-academic" students are being prepared for jobs and that this represents a commendable, traditional role for schools. But for what jobs? And is this the kind of training prospective employers should be providing anyway? Perhaps too many of our young are allowed--indeed, encouraged--to opt out of general education long before they have acquired the knowledge and understanding they need for effective citizenship and vocational mobility.

It is not enough, then, to create in the local school comprehensive curricula designed to promote academic, vocational, social, and personal goals, important though this task is. In addition, schools need to assure common access to this comprehensiveness, not deny it by early tracking into different subject matter or early preparation for job placement. Often, in the name of individual differences, we give up too soon on too many individuals.

Increasing the commonness of the common school is a major agenda item for the 1980's. Forces now at work (such as the drive in some states for so-called voucher plans) could turn the tide even more strongly away from the common, public school. Unfortunately, there appears to be a low level of local awareness that the common school is in jeopardy. Rarely do school personnel keep and examine data designed to reveal the patterns of courses in which individual students enroll and the content of these courses. Few instruments for such purposes are available. Evaluation efforts concentrate almost exclusively on outcome, achievement measures, not the substance or content of the learning situation.

I recommend the development of such data banks by all schools-- data banks designed to reveal the content of all courses offered, the spread of enrollments across courses, and the course patterns of individual students.⁴ These data undoubtedly would suggest to principals, teachers, students, and parents, as well as policy makers, sorely needed improvements in both school programs and the guidance of students into

⁴Instruments developed initially for the research conducted in the Study of Schooling referred to earlier could be revised rather readily for such purposes.

them. There is much yet to be accomplished in the humanization and democratization of knowledge through our system of public schooling.

The Improvement of Teaching

Greater equity regarding access to knowledge requires maximal effort to transmit knowledge. Individuals differ in their readiness to acquire knowledge and skills and in their modes and rates of acquisition. Sound pedagogy assumes such differences. Excellent teachers are challenged by the complex task of motivating and guiding the learning of classroom groups characterized by this diversity. They know that the range of differences remains great, no matter how great the effort to secure homogeneous groups through tracking or other organizational methods.

It is somewhat disconcerting, then, to observe the rather limited array of pedagogical procedures employed by many teachers at all levels of schooling. The range of activities employed to motivate and involve students--from the customary techniques of telling and questioning to "hands-on" procedures such as construction, dance, field trips and use of specimens--appears greatest in the kindergarten.⁵ It declines markedly in the upper elementary school years and remains narrow subsequently.

There are subject-to-subject differences, however. There is more use of hands, movement, small group activity, and individually chosen projects in the arts, physical education and vocational subjects than in subjects usually thought of as academic. There is more use of lecturing, questioning, telling, textbooks and workbooks in the academic subjects--

⁵John I. Goodlad, M. Frances Klein and Associates. Looking Behind the Classroom Door. Worthington, Ohio: Charles A. Jones, 1974

although, admittedly, these are the hallmarks of pedagogical practice in all subjects.

Perhaps these differences are quite appropriate, paralleling distinctive differences in the nature of school subjects. But one cannot help wondering if these differences in teaching partly explain students' expressed liking of school subjects. Among the students in the sample for the Study of Schooling, the arts came out consistently at the top of students' choices, followed by vocational/career education and physical education. Not only are these the subjects most consistently characterized by teaching methods in addition to conventional classroom procedures, but they also are the ones for which students report the greatest personal role in decision-making.

Further data from the Study reveal that students' self-concepts as related to school programs tend to drop off as they advance through the grades, as does their parents' satisfaction with school programs. Meanwhile, rather traditional didactics and passive learning appear to increase with progression upward in grade. It will be recalled that tracking was characteristic of the high schools in the sample.

One begins to wonder if many schools have adopted organizational procedures over pedagogical ones in seeking to deal with heterogeneous student populations. Instead of creatively trying to teach things in common to diverse groups, teachers may be assuming that differences among students already have been taken care of by various kinds of tracking. It becomes less necessary to be creative in seeking to reach all members of a class when it is assumed that the range of individual differences has been reduced.

My personal impression is that many teachers, for whatever reason, simply do not go far beyond the conventions of lecturing, questioning, textbooks, and workbooks in their daily pedagogical procedures. Perhaps they do not share Bruner's inspiring thesis that "... any subject can be taught in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development."⁶ Perhaps their lack of success in reaching students who learn less rapidly causes them to doubt the mastery learning Bloom believes necessary and possible--when favorable conditions for learning are created.⁷ Perhaps they lack the level of preparation that professional teaching requires.

If we are, through schools, to humanize and democratize knowledge so that it is understandable and available to large numbers of our people--and we must--the pedagogical understandings and skills of beginning and practicing teachers must be vastly upgraded. If this educational goal is to be achieved in this century, a quantum leap in the pre-service and in-service education of teachers is required.

Teacher Education

We are coming to understand that successful teachers orchestrate an array of factors: aptitude, ability, perseverance, and the like residing in individual students; concepts and methods of inquiry inherent in the subject fields; the present attainments of instructional groups; pedagogical procedures designed to motivate and sustain students'

⁶Jerome S. Bruner, The Process of Education. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 33.

⁷Benjamin S. Bloom, Human Characteristics and School Learning. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

learning; and so on. Few, if any, teacher education programs consistently produce graduates capable of handling the complexity they confront in the classroom. Keeping a semblance of order and employing a small repertoire of mechanistic teaching skills constitute the level attained by far too many teachers.

At least two dominant assumptions conspire to make teaching one of the minor professions. First, it is widely assumed that there is no special, substantial body of knowledge and skills to be acquired; and little or no professional lore; and that a college degree is sufficient preparation. A scattering of courses in psychology and teaching, together with a few weeks of practice in schools, are assumed to be helpful but not necessary.

The second assumption is that whatever special knowledge and skills may be necessary can be acquired on the job and refined through in-service training--the more practice-oriented, the better. This assumption is promulgated most by teachers and administrators.

The concomitants and consequences of these widely-held assumptions are detrimental to both the development of a strong teaching profession and the attraction of large numbers of outstanding individuals to it. There being no university degree clearly marking the completion of a rigorous, sustained program of professional preparation, employers have no minimal criterion for screening and selecting. Possession of a master's degree on the part of a candidate can be a handicap if the salary schedule mandates higher pay. School boards frequently prefer that all beginning teachers in the district qualify only for the lowest pay scales on the schedule. There is no strong pressure from the field to upgrade the professional preparation of teachers--only to turn out better teachers within the existing restraints. Consequently, there has been no significant upgrading of the pre-service preparation of teachers in recent decades.

The price society pays for the assumption that the necessary preparation is best achieved on the job is substantial. We all admire uncles, aunts, cousins, brothers and sisters, or friends who acquire a graduate degree while teaching in the schools. Such an accomplishment usually means loss of evenings and vacations to studies--and considerable financial expense. Husbands or wives and children participate in the sacrifice. And, undoubtedly, so do hundreds of thousands of elementary and secondary school pupils. Their teacher/students simply cannot and do not have the time and energy to serve equally well the demands of family, graduate studies, and daily teaching. All suffer to some extent. It must be noted, also, that the additional degree attained is not necessarily directed toward improved teaching. Frequently, it is in administration or some specialty likely to take its recipient out of the classroom.

Law and medicine, to take two examples, announce with one degree both a profession and professional status for the recipient. Although both lawyers and physicians update themselves and specialize further while practicing, few of either group secure additional degrees. The time is come to upgrade the teaching profession by requiring for admission to practice the preparation we assume will come later--and awarding at the end of that preparation program the only degree required throughout a lifetime of teaching. It will then be necessary to devise criteria other than subsequent units of university credit in rewarding personal growth and excellence in teaching.

Now is the strategic time, when we have in general an adequate supply of teachers, to pay attention to matters of quality. Other

factors cause the time to be favorable. Interest in teaching historically has increased during periods of economic recession such as the present. Many young people not yet committed to a professional goal would be willing, I believe, to enter teacher education programs deliberately designed to be of highest quality. Although teachers have been in oversupply, there has been attrition in numbers preparing to teach and a continuing modest demand for applicants.

At this time, too, teacher education programs could be the beneficiaries of a substantial body of knowledge about human behavior and teaching produced in recent decades. Even though many teacher educators are inadequately prepared in this relevant knowledge, it now exists. There is a body of professional lore, sufficient to warrant extending the depth and breadth of the teacher education curriculum.

Quality and mass production are hard to reconcile. Consequently, I recommend proceeding selectively to improve the preparation of teachers. Specifically, I suggest that perhaps a dozen of the strongest university-based schools of education be freed, experimentally, to develop programs to include four years of general studies and two years of professional/clinical work leading to a master's degree in teaching. Approximately half of the professional portion would consist of internships on the faculties of local schools. These local schools, in turn, would be part of an intensive school improvement program. In effect, each university would join in a consortium with the best available schools for both educational improvement and teacher education.

Quality and mandated minimums also are hard to reconcile. Consequently, I recommend the release of these university-school collaborations from state credentialing requirements. Instead, teacher graduates would

be required to pass state licensing exams prior to employment in a school. Colleges of education would find it necessary to attract students on the basis of the recognized quality of their programs. The major professions separate the professional degree from the licensing process.

No major profession has grown up and flourished apart from the university. There are dangerous signs--too many to go into here--that the in-service education of teachers is drifting away from the University. There is grave danger that teaching will become a trade as a result. There is no question that the weakness of many colleges of education has contributed to this separation. But neither colleges of education nor teachers stand to benefit if it continues. The answer lies in a free, competitive market whereby universities are required to build the collaborative relationships suggested in order to be approved to educate teachers and schools are required to join with universities to assure the renewal of their own staffs and programs. Both sides of the collaboration benefit, then, from seeking out quality and endeavoring, together, to improve on that quality.

None of the foregoing is impossible. In fact, substantial progress could be made in a decade--the decade of the '80's. We appear to have been in a decade of negativism, with too much self-pity on the part of educators and too much criticism on the part of everyone else. The time is come to address our energies to these tasks of reconstruction.